A portrait of Mahathir Mohamad, the former Prime Minister of Malaysia, is positioned on the left side of the cover. He is wearing a dark blue suit, a white shirt, and a red patterned tie. He has dark hair and is wearing glasses, smiling slightly. The background of the entire cover is a textured, aged map of the world, with labels for 'INDIA' and 'MAR' visible. The text on the right is arranged in a vertical column.

OVER 600 QUOTATIONS AND
EXCERPTS COVERING MORE
THAN 350 SUBJECTS SELECTED
FROM SPEECHES AND COMMENTS
BY THE THIRD WORLD'S
LEADING SPOKESMAN &
ARCHITECT OF MALAYSIA'S
ECONOMIC MIRACLE

*Few leaders earn the title of statesman.
But in Prime Minister Mahathir's case,
there is no doubt that the accolade
has been won by his achievements.*

Lady Margaret Thatcher

MAHATHIR: **THE AWAKENING**

Written & Compiled by: GOVIN ALAGASARI



MAHATHIR: THE AWAKENING

Written & Compiled by: GOVIN ALAGASARI





Sometimes it is necessary to jolt people out of their complacency and smug self-satisfaction.

Datuk Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamad
Kuala Lumpur, April 4, 1984

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for the kind encouragement, helpful advice and
assistance during the research and preparation of
this book
and
my family
for their patient endurance.

DEDICATION

To my parents
who made it all possible

There have been many books written about Dr. Mahathir Mohamad since he became Prime Minister in 1981. Books about Dr. Mahathir are always well received by Malaysians and citizens of other countries, especially those in the Third World. They have found in the Malaysian Prime Minister, not only an extraordinary politician but a Statesman the like of which they have rarely witnessed before.

Throughout these years, Dr. Mahathir has made countless number of speeches, media interviews, both on the record and off the record statements, perhaps more than any other Prime Minister in the world. He is without doubt the world's most approachable Prime Minister to the media, both at home and during his overseas trips. On this score, the writer should be commended for coming out with this book, which is quite unlike previous books written about Dr. Mahathir. I know it is no easy task sieving through the avalanche of texts of speeches, statements and press cuttings on Dr. Mahathir in researching for this book, but I have no hesitation to say that the writer has done an excellent job. He has selected hundreds of Dr. Mahathir's quotable quotes covering over 350 subjects.

This great effort by the writer in producing this book will help people, especially those who always look forward to reading anything on Dr. Mahathir, fathom the depths of his thoughts, wit and candour, intellect and incisiveness on a whole range of domestic, regional and international issues. Dr. Mahathir is not one who minces his words, and this, more than anything else, comes out through and through in this book. He is also a great

thinker but what I salute him most is his sheer ability to express himself in clear, unambiguous and plain language, even when speaking to the most intelligent crowd on some of the most complicated issues. For this, no other Malaysian politician, both past and present could match him.

I have had the privilege for the last several years of following Dr. Mahathir on many of his overseas trips, covering the events for Bernama. Though most of us journalists covering him are much younger than him, we have to admit that he possesses much more stamina to last his usually hectic schedule than us! In one of his trips, I asked him for the secrets which make him to never seem to suffer from fatigue and jet lag. His answer was that travelling is something which he enjoys and one never gets tired doing something he enjoys doing. Dr. Mahathir is also without doubt the world's most widely travelled Prime Minister and covering him has been a truly enriching experience for journalists.

The writer of this book, whom I have known for many years as the conscientious correspondent for Bernama on Labuan island, has taken pains for well over a year to research this book. I am confident his book will be a success and will spur others not only to continue to write about Dr. Mahathir but also on other important personalities in the country.

AZMAN UJANG

Chief News Editor

BERNAMA

WISMA BERNAMA, Kuala Lumpur

November 23, 1994

This book attempts to provide an all-in-one reference of the views and statements on major subjects including social themes by Dr. Mahathir Mohamad since he became Prime Minister of Malaysia in July 1981.

Over the years, he has attracted much attention not only as the leader of one of the Third World's most successful nation but also as an exponent of the sufferings of the South countries and leading campaigner for more support from the North nations.

One way of obtaining a better understanding and appreciation of his services would be to read through voluminous speeches and comments made over the past thirteen years. That would indeed be a formidable task for the majority.

It is hoped that this compilation fulfills the objective of providing a comprehensive insight into Dr. Mahathir's thinking and his views on national policies and international developments. His thoughts on social and moral issues should also make the reading of this book interesting.

The 'Introduction', 'Appraisal and Accolades', and 'Mahathir's Outlook' sections have been included to acquaint the reader with his leadership style, and approach to the many national and international issues that confronted him.

This book also aims to place in correct perspective Dr. Mahathir's contribution to the nation and the world at large.

Govin Alagasari
Labuan, October 19, 1994

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PROFILE : DATUK SERI DR. MAHATHIR MOHAMAD

Dr. Mahathir was born on December 20, 1925 in Kedah as the youngest in a family of nine children. His father was a headmaster. After early education at the Seberang Perak Malay School and Sultan Abdul Hamid College and a brief interruption of studies during the Japanese occupation of Malaya, he was given a scholarship and in 1947 gained entry into Singapore's prestigious King Edward VII College of Medicine.

He graduated as a doctor in 1953 and married Siti Hasmah Mohamed Ali, who studied at the same medical college, in 1956. After serving as a government doctor he became a private practitioner in Alor Star.

He joined UMNO in 1946, a decade later became actively involved in politics and entered national politics in 1964 winning his first parliamentary seat.

Political turbulence after race riots in May 1969 saw Dr. Mahathir who had lost his parliament seat in the recently concluded general elections and had differences of opinion with the nation's first Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman, expelled from UMNO for expressing what was then considered extremist views.

He was later re-admitted into UMNO by Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak who took over from the Tunku, and in 1972 won a seat in the powerful UMNO Supreme Council.

He was made a Senator in 1973, and won uncontested the Kubang Pasu parliamentary seat in 1974 which earned him a cabinet post as Minister of Education.

Tun Abdul Razak passed away suddenly in 1976. Tun Hussein Onn became the nation's third Prime Minister and chose Dr. Mahathir as Deputy Prime Minister.

Poor health compelled Tun Hussein to retire and pave the way for Mahathir to assume UMNO leadership and become Prime Minister on July 16, 1981.



PART I
INTRODUCTION

I N T R O D U C T I O N

*The good of the
people is the
chief Law.*

- Marcus

Tullius Cicero

106- 43 B.C.

A month after becoming Prime Minister on July 16, 1981, while inaugurating the United Nations Asian and Pacific Development Centre in Kuala Lumpur, Dr. Mahathir said,

“What is important now is an agenda for action and the will to act not only by each national government but also by the world community.

We can no longer regard many of our problems today as specific to a particular country or region.

The future prosperity of a country is very dependent on the other countries as much as the problem or potential destruction of a country is dependent on the other countries.

This inter-dependence must be viewed as an asset for the good and prosperity of all, not an opportunity and framework for manipulation and oppression by the stronger nations”.

That speech underscored Dr. Mahathir's leadership style and trait : forthright, unambiguous, meticulous and without malice, although there are those who tend to typecast him as an inimical Third World hardliner.

Coming from a not too large South-East Asian nation he told businessmen in Chicago in October 1984 that Malaysia's “location is not very clear to most so that even sensational news about it is dismissed as one of those things typical of underdeveloped countries”.

A study of the events and achievements during the months and years that followed brings out the remarkable transformation of a commodity dependent lesser known nation into a respected industrialising democracy “with an agenda for action and the will to act”, with an unwavering stance on issues involving the international political and economic fraternity.

When Dr. Mahathir took over at the helm, the nation's economy was showing signs of strain due to the downturn in commodity trading, a primary export earner.

The manufacturing sector had yet to create an economic impact while government run corporations were running at a loss.

The prospect of a long recession was imminent and the government's ambitious New Economic Policy (NEP) introduced to reduce economic disparity and increase Bumiputera share of the national wealth was chugging behind schedule.

At the regional level, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) had yet to translate its unity as a political grouping into meaningful economic collaborations.

Internationally Dr. Mahathir observed “sophisticated armtwisting and manipulative endeavour for achieving more advantage for the advantaged” (US-Asean Economic Conference, November 18, 1981).

And the North was in no compromising mood either. Third World's woes took a back seat while the developed nations grappled with recession. Stockpiles were released affecting commodity exports and prices, debilitating economies of countries like Malaysia.

*The care
of human life
and happiness
and not their
destruction,
is the first and
only legitimate
object of good
government.*
- Thomas
Jefferson
(1743-1826)

*While we pursue
the unattainable
we make
impossible the
attainable.*

- Robert Ardrey

The leadership must have realised that continuing to depend on commodities which played the vital role in the post-independent economic growth of the nation would be unrealistic.

The public sector had to be remoulded to provide efficient services that will complement revitalised private sector initiatives to expand the economic base.

The burden of ensuring a complete mental transformation that will impel an enlightened society to pursue new goals and aspirations rested heavily on the Mahathir administration.

Merchants, traders and farmers alike were told to discard the dole mentality and be bold enough to take risks.

Productivity became the key word and all government employees were required to clock-in to ensure punctuality and wear name tags to spruce their public relations image.

Early 1983 saw the introduction of the framework towards creating a "Clean, Efficient and Trustworthy Government" where the leaders were to be the pace setters showing exemplary rectitude of conduct.

The "Look East Policy" came about to enable Malaysians to emulate the economic successes of eastern countries, especially Japan, with emphasis on acquiring diligence, discipline, loyalty, productivity, quality and good management.

Lingering distrust and occasional acrimony between the civil service and private sector, often enough the cause for bureaucratic delays, were overcome through the "Malaysia Incorporated" concept.

Interestingly, the concept viewed the whole nation as a company and both the government and private sector as owners, managers and workers of this company.

The amalgam created a conducive environment for government-business sector co-operation and contributed towards the highly successful privatisation of several public enterprises.

The expansion of the domestic manufacturing base was soon followed by investment into heavy industries and the production of the nation's own car.

The national car "Proton Saga" was launched in September 1985 and it evoked much needed national pride and consciousness as the nation grappled with its worst recession with across the board plunge in commodity prices.

While opening the 40th Annual Conference of the Association of Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Kuching on December 15, 1986, Dr. Mahathir spoke of the long drawn recession triggered by the fall in commodity prices.

Stressing the need to overcome the problem he said, "we can sit down and cry, we can blame the government or blame a whole lot of other people, but what remains is that if we want to recover we have got to understand the working of our economic system If we are going to recover, it is very necessary that we learn to have some ethics"

The government's efforts were not in vain and the economy picked up steadily with the last quarter of the eighties witnessing a rejuvenated nation, an efficient civil service and an adventurous corporate sector prepared to take the risks that came along with mega capital ventures.

*The first
requisite of a
good citizen
is that he shall be
able and willing
to pull his
weight.*

*- Theodore
Roosevelt
(1858 - 1919)*

Dr. Mahathir appears to have this uncanny ability to get things going with patient perseverance. However, his demeanour contrasted with that of his predecessors and some were not sure whether he was leading the nation in the right direction.

The national car project took a lot of flak prompting one local business magazine to claim, "never before has an intended project been so soundly lambasted or roundly criticised".

Opposition also came from Deputy Prime Minister Musa Hitam who resigned in a huff and later joined a few cabinet colleagues in a bid to unseat Dr. Mahathir as President of UMNO, the major party within the ruling National Front coalition government, at the party's General Assembly in April 1987.

A loss would have effectively removed Dr. Mahathir as head of UMNO and National Front and the Prime Minister's post that came with it.

It turned out to be a bruising party election with five cabinet ministers and four deputy ministers joining the faction campaigning to remove the party president.

Dr. Mahathir was chastised for his leadership style and one minister opposed to him said his handling of the economy was all wrong.

He retained his post by a slim margin. Since that victory, the party and Government faced little opposition. With detractors out of the way, nation building and politics of development gathered momentum.

The New Economic Policy (NEP) made way for the National Development Policy (NDP) which incorporated the Vision 2020 goals to transform Malaysia into a fully developed nation.

Dr. Mahathir followed the course set by his predecessors in developing a multi racial Malaysia. But economic disparity still remained a nagging problem.

Managing a multi racial developing nation, with distinct racial, language, cultural and religious entities required expert handling and it became formidable when the economic wealth was disproportionate to racial strength.

Even a cursory observation of the many reported incidents of ethnic, religious and cultural discords and violence across the globe will highlight the volatility of poorly managed race relations. When passions are aroused, an emotional spark ignites and creates a conflagration.

One major effort of the Dr. Mahathir administration was to rid the nation of race being typecast with certain economic functions. Each race was to have proportionate representation in every economic function.

The demographic pattern where different races mostly lived within their own communities, a tendency inherited from the colonial era, was to gradually transform into balanced multi-racial townships and villages.

The principles of concessions and compromise were inculcated and the objectives of developing a caring and sharing society continued to be an intense preoccupation.

Sharing of the economic cake had meant everyone had something, although some accepted the situation begrudgingly prompting Dr. Mahathir to make this famous remark:

“Our belief is that if everybody is not satisfied, than we are doing well. If you find any one group totally satisfied, then we are being unfair”.
(December 1992)

*All government
indeed every
human benefit
and enjoyment,
every virtue, and
every prudent
act, is founded
on compromise
and barter.*

- Edmund
Burke
(1729 - 1797)

On the international scene, Dr. Mahathir's efforts towards promoting little known Malaysia into a respected nation widely recognised for its political philosophy and vibrant economy had, without doubt, succeeded.

His plain speaking, sometimes witty style and flair for giving simple analogies to seemingly complicated issues had over the years attracted much attention.

Salient features of his speeches at many international meetings remained consistent throughout the years and are synonymous with the nation's foreign policy and outlook.

On Press freedom he made it very clear that there was no such thing as total press freedom and that in the name of press freedom the nation **"cannot be cowed by threats"** to its image.

He vehemently condemned the arms race, urged the need to restore faith in the United Nations, deplored the economic bullying of the North nations and foreign military intervention on weaker countries.

He asked whether the International Community had lost its conscience standing aloof, watching the sufferings of the Palestinians and Lebanese.

He called Israel a **'bully'**, apartheid South Africa a **'freak'**, and claimed that the worldwide depression of 1982 was man made by **'short sighted people in powerful countries'**.

He lamented the wrecking of free trade **"by the rising tide of protectionism"**, and the **'arrogance'** of the developed countries ignoring the plight of the poor nations.

He urged the Non-aligned Movement not to remain just idealistic, “to be more vigilant and introspective” and chastised the Commonwealth which had become a “collection of former colonies who have been persuaded to join through oblique hints that they will benefit from it”.

He spoke of neo colonialism practised by the North, of the limits of human rights and the solemn right of every nation to decide on the form and spirit of democracy it should adopt.

He continues to be apprehensive of the peace process in the post cold war era and has appealed for more understanding of the plight of the Islamic nations and a need for unity among Jews, Christians and Muslims.

One important issue that has been repeatedly expounded by Dr. Mahathir is the question of human rights and freedom. He has scorned the western notion of freedom and how the powerful nations use human rights issues to subdue the economic well being of the third world countries.

Franklin Roosevelt called for the establishment of four essential human freedoms in the world : freedom of speech and expression; freedom of every person to worship God, in his own way; freedom from want and freedom from fear.

Echoing similar sentiments Dr. Mahathir had pointed out the paradox where western nations espouse freedom and democracy and champion their version of human rights but are doing little towards the elimination of freedom from want and freedom from fear so widespread in the third world countries.

He called upon them to abandon the **beggar thy neighbour approach** and instead seek ways of enriching the South so that with its new found wealth the South will extend its bounty to the North as better customers.

*Liberty, too
must be limited
in order to be
possessed.*
- Edmund Burke
(1729-1797)

*To be poor and
independent is
very nearly an
impossibility.*
- William
Cobbet
(1608-1674)

*You cannot
strengthen
the weak by
weakening the
strong.*
- Abraham
Lincoln.
(1809-1865)

*Where
wealth and
freedom reign,
contentment
fails, and
honour sinks
where commerce
long prevails.*
- Oliver
Goldsmith.
(1728-1774)

Dr. Mahathir felt that aid and assistance in whatever form that had been extended to the poor countries was not enough and much more had to be done.

He has tried hard to allay fears that a rich South will displace North. 'The developing countries will never ever displace the role of the developed countries', he told US businessmen in 1984.

Advanced developed nations have inherited "a laxity and a dirth of moral values which spawn permissive cultures, breed politicians who misuse power and position and businessmen and financiers who cheat on a massive scale", said Dr. Mahathir (August 1991) observing further that there was also break down of family values and occurrence of horrendous crimes.

He pointed out that material progress without spiritual balance will destroy society. While advocating the need to acquire wealth through technological and commercial advancement and achieve a developed nation status by the year 2020, he warned Malaysians not to be wayward.

Thus, he calls for the establishment of a "fully moral and ethical society whose citizens are strong in religious and spiritual values"

Dr. Mahathir had been guiding the nation for more than a decade now and gained a respected centre stage as a de facto spokesman for the Third World.

Foreign analysts and political observers may take comfort in knowing that Western nations are not the only ones to receive flak from Dr. Mahathir.

Some Third World nations, Muslims, bureaucrats, bankers, politicians, businessmen, builders, professionals, economists and many others

have been receiving advice and not so pleasant remarks.

But the plain talking Prime Minister apparently dislikes molly coddling, muffling and mincing. It has been a straight forward, direct approach all the way.

It has been said that our real enemies are the people who make us feel so good that we are slowly but inexorably pulled down into the quicksand of smugness and self-deception. It would be good if someone comes by and gives us a jolt and gets us going. Dr. Mahathir had surely got the nation going.

In him we find a good politician, counsellor, philosopher and leader, all combined.



"If a democracy is to survive, the limits of the freedoms granted must be observed judiciously. The division and the balance of power between the legislative, the executive and the judiciary must be observed".

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

PART II
**APPRAISAL &
ACCOLADES**

*Former British
Prime Minister
Lady Margaret
Thatcher
addressing a
gathering
of corporate
leaders on
"Towards
Asian
Leadership".
Kuala Lumpur,
September 3,
1993*

Margaret Thatcher:

Few leaders earn the title of statesman. But in Prime Minister Mahathir's case, there is no doubt that the accolade has been won by his achievements.

There could be no more challenging place for me to give a speech than Malaysia because Dr. Mahathir himself is one of the world's most formidable and trenchant speech-makers.

No matter how difficult the issue, Dr. Mahathir never shrank from giving leadership, one which involved many lonely decisions, but he never faltered or ducked them.

The result is that Malaysia has been able to provide its people with very much higher living standards while at the same time assuming a world role as a spokesman for Southeast Asia.

You will find in history that it is not necessarily the biggest countries who exert the most influence, it is those with the strongest leadership and clearest vision - and it is those qualities in their Prime Minister which have propelled Malaysia in a very brief time to its present fortunate position.

The thing that makes the Mahathir style of leadership different from others is the number of *shokkus* that he has produced within two years. The *shokkus* that he has created in the minds of the people has been basically aimed at jolting the people out the rather taking-for-granted attitudes that exist within the ranks of all sectors of society from the leadership-political, administrative, business-right down the line to the lowest worker in the government, at the private sector as well as the ordinary folk in the towns and villages. It is aimed at jolting them out of - in what he believes to be - the complacency of the people. It is necessary now for us to remind the people that easy times are the result of hard work, and in hard times we have to pay attention to hard work and discipline in order to sustain the success story so far achieved by the country.

One has to accept the reality of human nature. If you study the history of countries there is always a tendency towards degeneration of the political and the administrative systems, and the whole gamut of daily life. The phase of degeneration is easily experienced if things are taken for granted. So Dr. Mahathir feels that we just have to make everybody sit up and think and ask: "Where are we now, and where are we going?"

They are innovative - there are some that are even controversial - but the basic aim is to jolt the people out of complacency the "stand up to identify themselves", to see where they are and see where they are going so that we can have a more definite sense of direction.

Lee Kuan Yew,
Former
Singapore
Prime
Minister.
November,
1990

Lee Kuan Yew:

A tough bargainer who keeps his word.

I have done more business with Mahathir in nine years than the other three Malaysian Prime Ministers in 21 years.

Tan Sri Abdul
Taib Mahmud,
Sarawak Chief
Minister.
Kuching,
August 21,
1993

Abdul Taib Mahmud:

Mahathir is a man of bold vision.

As a leader, he has extraordinary intellectual power to enable the Government to have a team of politicians working for the greater vision for the country.

Under him there has been a dramatic change from a country that depended on the export of primary commodities to one that exports manufactured goods. The man has contributed to this great transformation of our economy.

Datuk Seri
Rafidah Aziz
on her support
for Mahathir
when his
leadership was
challenged
within UMNO.
April 16, 1987

Rafidah Aziz:

He's come to terms with what ails the country and, as a leader, he knows what should be done from now.

When I first met Dr. Mahathir, I thought he was very reserved too then I realized that he was just like anyone of us except perhaps that he was shy. What should a PM be judged on? If you expect him to go around partying and "hoo'ha'ing", to be one of the 'boys', then I'm sorry. In fact I'd worry if we had such a PM. What we want is an effective, strong leader. It's as simple as that.

PART III
**MAHATHIR'S
OUTLOOK**

*Speech at Asia
Society
Conference on
"Asia and the
Changing
World Order".
Tokyo, May
13, 1993*

1. Malaysian Nationalist:

I am a Malaysian nationalist. For this I offer no apologies. I am also an Aseanist. I am deeply committed to Asean, which has played such a critical role in turning what was an area of turmoil, antagonism, conflict - sometimes violent conflict - an area with no history of co-operation whatsoever - into a zone of co-operative peace and prosperity. I am also a believer, among other things, in South-South co-operation, in the G15, in the OIC, in the Commonwealth, in a South-East Asian community of peace and shared development, in enriching and strengthening Pacific interdependence and co-operation and in a new and a better world order.

For all these commitments and beliefs, I do not apologise, I also do not apologise for my hopes for, and commitment to, East Asia.

*On whether
he would
continue to
lead UMNO
and the
nation.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 8,
1992*

2. Party Leadership:

I would not know about two more terms but if I am still healthy and the party still wants me I think it is a duty for me to offer myself. If the party does not want me that is quite all right.

3. Speaking Out:

If I'm expected to make ordinary speeches,
I might as well keep quiet.

On his outspoken manner.

Responding to British newspaper reports that he had chosen to hit out at British policy on Bosnia during Prime Minister John Major's official visit to Malaysia. Langkawi, October 11, 1993

4. Being Remembered:

I don't want to be remembered. What is important is what I am doing now, whether I succeed or not. People are fickle. In a hundred years' time they will make an analysis and then tear to pieces all the achievements.

When asked how best he would like to be remembered. Asiaweek, November 11, 1988

5. Past Actions:

No, I would do exactly the same.

When asked if he would do anything differently if he had to begin his premiership all over again. Kuala Lumpur, January 1, 1988

*A year after
taking over as
Prime Minister.
Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

6. Nation's Future:

For the next 25 years I hope, I expect, that the country will accelerate its development without losing sight of its essential Malaysianness, its value systems, its ethics. Generally I foresee a much more prosperous Malaysia - subject of course to the political stability being continuous and we expect it to be continuous.

I see a society that is much more sophisticated, a society that would not be afraid to look outwards - not only think of themselves as Malaysians but to know that the world offers opportunities for them and that they should be doing business with the world in a really big way. This would include the setting up of construction companies, trading corporations, that would be located all over the world. Malaysians doing construction, contracting, in other countries.

*Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

7. Decision Making:

I listen to everybody's view and then I make my decision, but once I have made it I expect it to be implemented even if it may have been a wrong decision.

*Kuala Lumpur,
November 15,
1993*

8. Successors:

I have really no worry that after I'm gone there will be any changes. But I can assure that you can continue to invest in Malaysia after I'm gone because they (his successors) could just be the same kind of people as they are.

9. Present Times:

This era must be looked upon as the era of resurgence of the Malaysian people and nation in charting the course for a glorious future. As such, all efforts and resources of the nation should be combined to achieve the objective with a single-minded determination or else we will be left behind. The road to success is not an easy one unless we put up a determined effort.

*Message to the
3rd Congress
of Malay
Intellectuals.
December 1,
1992*

10. Leadership Style:

I would like to see in the time that I'm here some work being done, laying the foundations for the kind of attitudes that will ensure development in this country. Basically I'm interested in ethics and attitudes. My leadership style - I don't know whether it is appropriate or not. I'm just trying. The best thing is for the people to make judgement. I am in no position because I will be biased towards myself. But I would like to see some things happen and this is the way I know. It may be appropriate, it may not, but it is my way

*Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

..... Well if people think that what I practise brings about results, good results, I think they should follow me. But if they think that it is not then they should try to find somebody else to follow.

*Speech at
Trinity College.
Oxford,
April 19, 1985*

11. International Outlook:

What I say will, I fear, be distorted, taken out of context, misquoted and misconstrued. I will please neither friend nor foe. I will not please the First World, certainly. And I will not please even the Third World. Let me make certain things clear from the start. Let me make plain the point of departure, the context in which my remarks are set. Let me stress that I am no apologist for the Third World, of which my country is a member. I make no defence of the obscenities that take place in many developing countries, the failure of many of their governments, the profound weaknesses of many of their societies. I am deeply committed to the free enterprise system as a means for uplifting the multitudes from the indecency of poverty. And I fully believe that the West has given much to this planet in terms of political culture, in terms of the techniques of production, in terms of civilising values whose relevance and importance will conquer much that lies in their path.

*World Press
Convention.
Kuala Lumpur,
September 18,
1985*

12. Attitude Towards Democracy:

Let me not be misunderstood. I am no apologist for unnecessary repression, for the iron fist, for authoritarianism and for the abuse of Governmental power. I am a firm believer in the greatest freedom consonant with the vital interests of society. But there is no moral virtue in the comfortable afflicting the afflicted, in taking a holier than thou attitude.

13. International Presence:

We must of course be aware of our limited weight in the international arena. There is every reason for humility. But the corruption arising from a sense of powerlessness is as bad as the corruption of power.

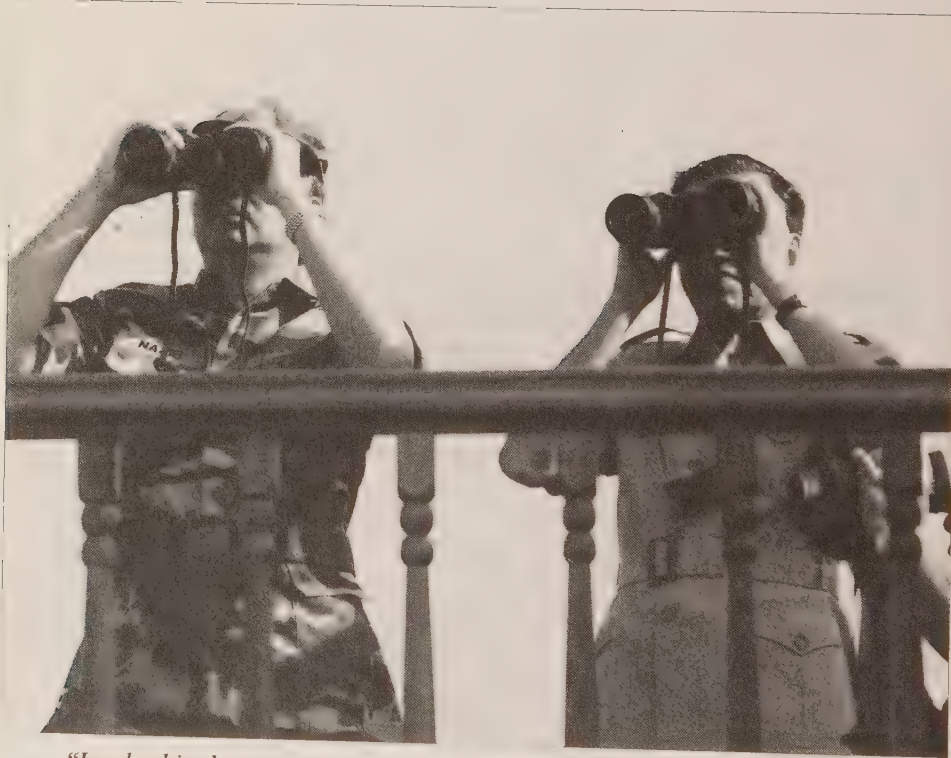
If we do not in our own modest ways try to shape history, then we must not bemoan our fate later.

*International
Conference on:
"The Asean
Countries and
The World
Economy:
Challenge of
Change".
Bali, March 4,
1991*

14. National Identity:

Nations should not feel unhappy if we retaliate in the same manner when they deliberately run us down. After all the so-called civilised nations have more skeletons in their cupboard and indeed are continuously adding to them, than we have in Malaysia. If you try to reproduce us in your image the world might be a boring place to live in.

*Asia Society
meeting.
New York,
September 25,
1991*



"Leadership determines the success of a nation. There is nothing worse for a country than having leaders lacking integrity and credibility".

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

PART IV
SELECTIONS

EXPLANATORY NOTE

“The quotations and excerpts are presented in three sections : Nation, International and General. However, the classification only serves as a general guide since many of the subjects discussed provide both national and international perspectives.

The selection of the subjects was based on their historical significance, policies covering international relations, economy, national policies and outlook, social and moral guidelines.

Since passages quoted are from views and speeches made over a thirteen year period, certain subjects should be read and understood in their historical context, particularly comments on international political and economic developments”.

SECTION I
NATION

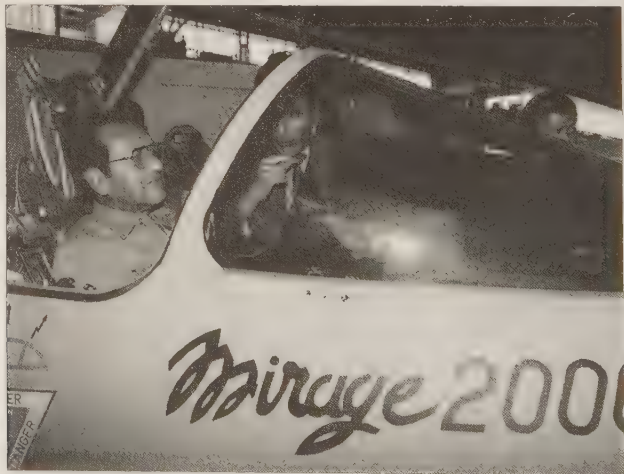
*On Malaysia's
entry into aircraft
manufacturing.
Langkawi,
December 7, 1993*

But a beginning has to be made. And three small aircrafts make a good beginning, modest though they may be.

In a century's time, we may have our Boeing and McDonnell Douglas counterparts, God willing.

*On the need to
continue
acquiring broad
skills in the
development of
aerospace
industry in
Malaysia.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 21,
1994*

The technology in the industry is progressing rapidly and when we reach a certain level, we find others are far ahead. The West is so far in front that it is difficult to set a time - frame for us to catch up.



"The benefits of achieving independence will not be justified if we do not become a strong and powerful nation A country which cannot defend itself with its own people will eventually be destroyed".

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

Since it has deviated from true Islamic teachings, therefore it is the Government's responsibility to prevent it from spreading.

*Kuala Lumpur,
July 16, 1994*

At first we do not give much consideration. We do not care about the way they dress. They can cover up their faces or walk with their eyes closed. That's their problem.

But now they have deviated from the teachings of Islam and have reached a level where their activities could be a threat to Muslims in the country.

We are not worried about them politically but in this country we don't allow deviationist teachings and they have this man (Ashaari) who claims he has spoken to the Prophet personally, that in fact, the Prophet came to see him and called him Sir.

*Kuala Lumpur,
July 30, 1994*

We feel that when a person is able to influence the thinking of a large group, eventually that person will have the desire to take over the government or seek positions unlawfully.

Expanding on the objective of Al Arqam leader Ashaari. The movement was banned and its leader Ashaari confessed to spreading deviationist teachings on October 20, 1994. Penang, July 20, 1994

*Opening the
general meeting
of the
Association of
Chinese
Chambers of
Commerce and
Industry
Malaysia
(ACCCIM).
Kuala Lumpur,
September 2,
1984*

Co-operation between bumiputeras and non-bumiputeras in commerce and industry must be genuine. The bumiputeras should not expect free shares or secure jobs as a result of such joint-ventures. They should participate actively and try to upgrade their skills through learning from their partners. On the other hand, the non-bumiputera partners must not tempt their bumiputera partners into lending their names for a fee. I have found some people offering one or two million Ringgit to obviously unsuitable people as partners. A lot of people go to my constituency to seek out people who may be close to me to offer partnerships in return for influence. I can assure you that this is the surest way of not getting what you want.

*Tenth
Convention of
The Malaysia
Economic
Association.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 7, 1989*

If we are going to solve the disparity problem in the future, both bumiputeras and non-bumiputeras must help in making bumiputeras better businessmen. The bumiputeras must participate and the non-bumiputeras must insist that they the bumiputeras, participate meaningfully in the management of companies and projects after they have obtained the licences or the contracts. Indeed, even if they do not get the Government contracts or licences for the companies they should be employed and put to work to contribute meaningfully to their keep.

The Government too will insist on evidence that bumiputeras are making knowledgeable and positive contributions before helping them with licences and contracts. It is not necessary for bumiputeras to harp on being 100% bumiputeras. Even if they make up only a minority in a business but their contribution is positive, the Government will look with favour.

While the goal of the 30% share of the economy for bumiputeras is important, it is much more important for them to have the skill to manage their new wealth. This, to my mind, is the area that all must focus on in the post 1990 period.

While we would like to see more Bumiputera-non-Bumiputera partnerships, the Ali Baba' type of arrangement in which Ali is not only passive but risks no capital of his own must be regarded as a form of undermining the NDP. Non-Bumiputera partners must find genuine Bumiputera partners willing to risk their capital and involve themselves in the day-to-day running of the business. More than that we expect the non-Bumiputera partner to actually train and expose their Bumiputera partners to real-life business experience. The non-Bumiputera must realise that the faster the NDP (National Development Policy) target is achieved and the Bumiputera become real business people, the sooner will the need to favour Bumiputera as a matter of policy be ended.

*Tabling the
Second Outline
Perspective
Plan (OPP2)
(1991-2000).
Kuala Lumpur,
June 17, 1991*

*Commenting
on a technical
hitch which
forced the
Election*

*Commission to
revoke a major
redelineation
exercise.*

*Kuala Lumpur,
February 18,
1993*

Our country is tied up with rules and regulations so much so that matters which clearly only involve technicalities will cause us to be unable to implement certain things.

We should also accept that when something happens only due to technicalities, we have some flexibility on the matter but this is not for me to decide.

*Conference on
Privatisation in
Malaysia:
Opportunities
and
Implications.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 14, 1988*

A great deal has been said about bureaucratic inefficiency. Government employees are no different from their private sector counterpart. If they are different in their attitude towards their work, it is because of their management environment. Profits do not motivate them. The private sector employees will act in exactly the same way if the enterprises they are in create the same management environment.

British business really have nothing to fear from our Look East Policy. It did not motivate our Buy British Last Policy. Buy British Last was the result of Britain's lack of appreciation of the millions of Pounds we have been pumping into the British economy through fees and living expenses of our students in this country.

Happily this problem was resolved and the Buy British Last Policy was dropped even before Mrs. Thatcher visited Malaysia in 1985. This does not mean that we are going to buy British first. It does mean that British goods will compete on equal terms with everyone else's. There will be no discrimination. So, may I repeat, Buy British Last Policy is dead and has been buried for good.

*Speech at
Luncheon
hosted by the
Confederation
of British
Industry.
London,
July 23, 1987*

*Launching
the "Leadership
by Example"
campaign
for the Civil
Service.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 19,
1983*

Every member of the civil service, whatever his rank is entrusted with authority. Authority is given because without it, administration and supervision which is the responsibility of government cannot be carried out. Unfortunately, authority is very easily abused. When abused, authority will no longer be an instrument for supervision but will instead become an obstacle which will in turn destroy society. Misuse of authority, whether in the issuing of hawkers licences or in approving contracts worth millions of dollars, will inevitably have damaging results on society. In the end, all of us will lose because of lack of trustworthiness

However, being clean, efficient and trustworthy alone is not enough. We need to have other good traits as well. We need to be disciplined, systematic in our work, polite, courageous, of good behaviours, diligent and possessed of other good qualities which will make us a better society

By taking this pledge today we are making a commitment to show good example of a leader. Good deeds will not only improve the civil service, but also society, including ourselves. We do not lose by providing good service, for the good derived by society will also be felt by us.

In view of this, we must not regard the service that we render as a commodity for sale for a certain amount of payment. Does service for one's self require payment from others? Does it not mean that rendering good service is reflection of civic consciousness? Is not service to the public a virtue? If we answer 'yes' to all these questions, then the service we give should be more than just earning a living. We must be prepared to provide better service to achieve this noble objective.

As such, I would like to stress that we should not work merely for the remuneration that we receive, but it should be more than that. We should work for the people, the nation and for the Almighty, Who has bestowed upon us innumerable blessings. We should not be too calculating with regard to the worth of our work, but we should regard our work as a contribution to the society and country. We should not only be conscious of the blessings derived from a nation that is stable and peaceful but we should also be grateful for it. For our gratefulness our rewards will be greater.

*Launching
the "Leadership
by Example"
campaign.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 19,
1983*

We do not doubt that a government that is clean, efficient and trustworthy will facilitate and improve the machinery of government, further increase productivity and make this nation stable and strong

An administration that is clean, efficient and trustworthy will only be meaningful when its leaders, heads of government departments and officers have these values, and hence government leaders, both in politics and the civil service, have to make a pledge in an effort to inculcate and to ensure that these values are practised

It is obvious that with an administration that is not clean, efficient and trustworthy at all levels, that is from political leader and senior civil servants to the lowest official, Malaysia and Malaysians can never be successful and progressive and respected by all. The independence that we achieved will then be meaningless for the country's status and honour will be that of a colonised nation and its people that of slave.

Malaysians do not deny history. Indeed we have taken pains to preserve the relics of history. In the heart of Kuala Lumpur, for example, we have preserved that typically English scene consisting of a cricket ground, a club (in mock Tudor) and a church.

We preserve all these not because of our sentimentality. The world is now not very much moved by sentiments. We preserve them as reminders of our past, so that Malaysians will not forget that they were once colonised by various European powers. If they do not wish to be colonised again, in whatever form, they must learn to manage their affairs better.

In the good old days when the world was divided into a number of empires belonging to European countries and America there existed a division of economic function, albeit forced. The colonies belonging to the European and American powers were given the task of producing raw materials which were then shipped to the metropolitan countries, processed into manufactured goods and sold back to the closed markets that the colonies provided. Of course the raw materials were extracted by entrepreneurs from the colonial powers themselves and sold in the markets in their great cities so as to ensure maximum profits to the colonialist. The colonised people were given sufficient to survive and no more.

*Speech at
official dinner
in honour of
British Prime
Minister
Margaret
Thatcher.
Kuala Lumpur,
April 5, 1985*

*Speech on
"The dilemma
of developing
countries wishing
to industrialise"
at luncheon
jointly hosted by
The Asia Society,
The Far East
American
Business Council
and The ASEAN-
American Trade
Council.
New York,
January 16, 1984*

*Opening the
3rd ASEAN
Council of
Petroleum
Conference and
Exhibition.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 2,
1985*

We know very well that low commodity prices benefit the rich consumers most. But we are quite unwilling to act as if all we need to do is to undercut the prices of our competitors. We overproduce as if that will earn us more. But all that happens is that the more we sell, the less we earn. If this goes on, a point will be reached when we cannot even recover the cost of production. All these as we know are logical and real but we go on doing these things and refusing to acknowledge that where commodity trading is concerned, discipline and long-term gains are more important than the transient prosperity of a short-term approach.

*Alluding to
Malaysia's
predicament as
being the only
Asean country
which has
common borders
with other Asean
members.
Malaysia is
involved in
border talks and
territorial matters
with Indonesia,
Thailand,
Singapore,
Philippines and
Brunei.
Kuala Lumpur,
August, 1991*

Whenever the other country has a border problem, it involves Malaysia. So it may sound as if we have a problem.

Our main defence requirement in the past was in order to counter communist insurgency. Since 1948 a fair percentage of the national budget had to be expanded to counter communist terrorist activities. It is a war that does not call for very sophisticated and expensive weaponry. The main need is skill in anti-guerrilla jungle warfare. Over the years of the "Emergency", Malaysian soldiers acquired skills which are second to none in this type of warfare. Not many countries have been able to defeat the communist guerrillas. Malaysia is one of the few. Although the initial period of intense jungle warfare exacted a high toll in men and money but the protracted war of attrition which followed was no less debilitating. But perseverance paid off and in December 1989, 41 years after the communist launched their attempt to overthrow the Government, the Malayan Communist Party or MCP decided to lay down arms.

*Opening the
Defence
Services Asia
Exhibition.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 20,
1990*

*First National
Competitiveness
Forum.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 16,
1993*

Competitiveness is particularly critical in this era where economic prowess, and not military power measures the strength and standing of nations. As a result, trade and industrial issues, export performance and trade balances have now become the major preoccupations of governments.

Unfortunately, this often results in calls for protective and restrictive policies to safeguard domestic producers from the full force of foreign competition.

The goal to establish a prosperous society with an economy that is fully competitive, dynamic, robust and resilient is one of the nine critical challenges of Vision 2020.

Thus issues and questions on how to achieve and maintain competitiveness should be a major concern for all Malaysians.

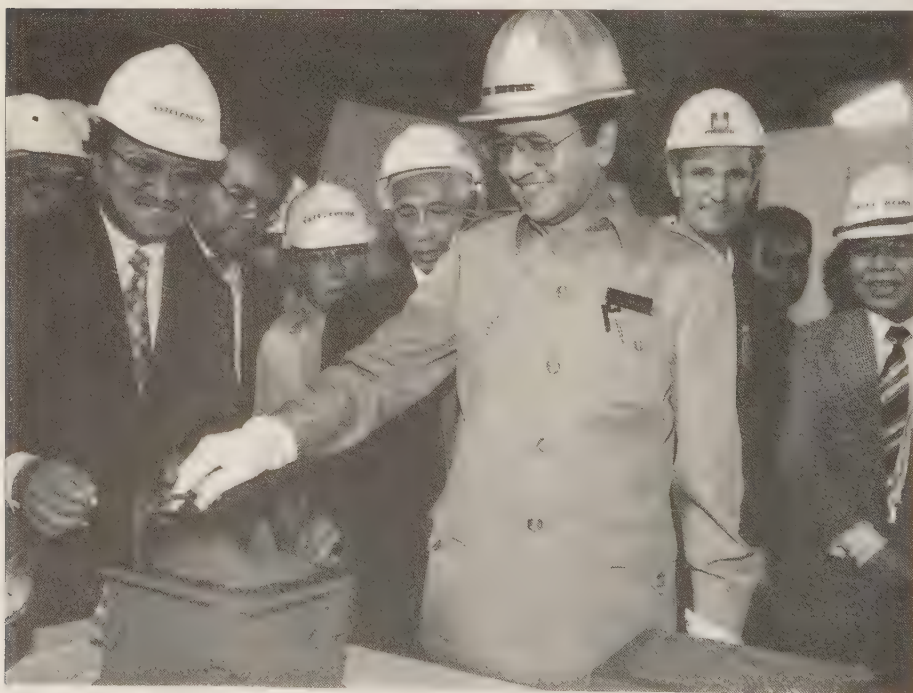
I believe in the supremacy of the Constitution. The Malaysian Government will faithfully do its duty as prescribed by the Constitution - rights guaranteed to the different component parts of the federation, rights guaranteed to minorities, rights guaranteed to the citizen and in some cases to the non-citizen also. The Constitution is not infallible, having been drafted by mere men. Hence, the Constitution also provides for its amendment, no doubt to make it compatible with changing times. But the conditions for amendments are such that the Constitution cannot be trifled with at will.

A written constitution is essential in a federation, especially one with a multi-racial and multi-lingual and multi-cultural population. Every one concerned, not only those in Government, must respect and uphold it.

*Opening the
ASEAN Law
Association
General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 26,
1982*

20th
Convention
of the
International
Federation of
Asian and
Western Pacific
Contractors
Associations.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 25, 1983

We are aware that builders and contractors have an important contribution to make to the development process of any country, socially and economically. They have a part in physically translating the development plans into reality. But development is not just physical construction and concrete contours; development is a better quality of life for all. The challenge to the construction industry is therefore the challenge of its response and reaction to the needs and problems of society.



"What we have between our ears, at our elbow and in our heart is much more important than what we have below our feet and around us. Our people is our ultimate resource".

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

Now Malaysia as a whole has adopted and is refining and redefining its own corporate philosophy. Ever since the Malay states adopted a modern administrative system it was thought that the Government and the business people were enemies. The Government thought that business was essentially cheating - cheating the public, the consumers and the Government. How else could businesses make money if they didn't cheat. Consequently Government officers must regard business people with suspicion and do everything possible to frustrate them.

This assumption is not altogether without reason. Cheating was a widespread practice in the past. Short weights and short change, sub-standard goods etc. were accepted by the consumers as part of the game. You can complain but it would mean so much trouble with so little gain. If the measurement was short, well that was to be expected considering how much you had succeeded in knocking down the prices. Consumers were fair game and there was no consumers association to cry foul. The attitude of the public and the Government towards business was therefore quite justified.

But it is now possible to have some ethics in business. Indeed public limited companies are much more subjected to scrutiny than the little family-owned shops. Besides goods are no longer sold or services rendered purely on a basis of low price. Quality counts now and commands a premium. If you care for designer or personalized products than you accept the need to pay an unreasonable price. You get exactly what you ask for it if you are prepared to pay the price. Cheating has become honourable and the gains are as much subjected to taxes as all your other proceeds.

*Opening
of Asian
Association of
Management
Conference.
Pulau Pinang,
October 30,
1983*

This being largely so, there is no longer a need to regard businessmen and traders as crooks. Since these people also contribute to economic growth and pay into the coffers of the Government they should be regarded as partners of the administration of the country. This partnership between the Government and the business people in the economic development of the nation is no different from the partnerships that are to be found in business establishments. Hence the corporate philosophy of Malaysia may be labelled as the Malaysia Incorporated Philosophy.

In our country, the death sentence is mandatory for dadah trafficking. But does it mean that such a stiff penalty has managed to stamp out dadah trafficking? We know that many people have been hanged for dadah trafficking, but yet there are still people who are so greedy as to gamble with their lives.

But we cannot abolish the death sentence just because there are those who chose to ignore it. If we do so, more people will commit the crime. So, that is why we still retain the penalty. There are people who only have fear because of such a penalty. Whatever is the impact of the penalty, punishment to be meted out commensurate with the crime.

To support the enforcement and preventive measures, the Malaysian Government has promulgated tough drug laws to deter these merchants of misery and death from carrying out their activities in Malaysia and if they run foul of the law they will face the consequences of their unscrupulous actions. These laws have undergone various amendments in the last decade to make them more effective for their intended purposes. One of the most significant of these is the provision for mandatory death sentence for convicted drug traffickers, which came into force in April 1983. We make no apology for our tough drug laws. We regard the death penalty not just as a deterrent but an appropriate punishment for these criminals for they are worse than murderers. They deliberately spread misery and death in their quest for easy wealth. We will continue to hang them until none is left who wishes to profit from this vicious crime.

*Opening the
UN Expert
Group meeting
on recommended
methods of
testing drugs.
Kuala Lumpur,
September 22,
1986*

On the possibility of power vacuum in the region. Pulau Langkawi, December 8, 1993

See what has happened in Bosnia. The US has not been able to do anything and we can't rely on the assumed sense of responsibility of big power countries.

There is no necessity for somebody to be policemen when we can't rely on those policemen.

After opening the 10th meeting of Pacific Economic Co-operation Council. Kuala Lumpur, March 3, 1994

I can't speak for specific countries but for the whole region, I don't think we need the US fleet patrolling the seas in this area. So much money is wasted.

Speaking at a reception to send off Malaysian soldiers to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Sungai Petani, December 20, 1993

We cannot trust anyone to come to our defence. Therefore, we do not believe in pacts with the strong nations in the hope that they will help us if we are attacked.

Addressing Ex-servicemen and families. Kuala Lumpur, July 25, 1993

The benefits of achieving independence will not be justified if we do not become a strong and powerful nation A country which cannot defend itself with its own people will eventually be destroyed.

We, in Malaysia, believe that the first line of defence of any country is not its military capabilities. The first line of defence lies in its national resilience and in shaping a strategic environment where threats are minimised. It lies in the policy of making friends with those who want to be friends with us.

International Conference: 'South-East Asia and the Pacific Age' organised by Association for the Promotion of International Co-operation of Japan and Institute of Strategic and International Studies. Kuala Lumpur, December 3, 1984

If defence is to become effective and get the backing of the people, what is to be defended must be worthwhile. It is in order to make Malaysia worth defending that economic and social development has to be carried out.

Opening the Asian Defence Exhibition and Conference. Kuala Lumpur, February 18, 1986

If we take defence as a total concept, economic and social development must be considered a major factor in national defence. In the context of a modern nation, the backing of the people for the armed forces to defend the country is as important as the strength and skill of the armed forces themselves. Likewise basic defence is necessary for economic and social development efforts to take place. Taking these factors in its totality, defence and economic and social programmes are complementary factors in achieving overall national resilience.

*Opening the
Defence
Services Asia
Exhibition.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 20,
1990*

For Malaysia, as I have stated on many occasions, defence preparedness is only necessary in order to ensure stability for economic and social development. We are not an aggressive nation, and we have no territorial claims. Likewise, Malaysian territory is not for sale to anyone. But we accept the need to defend our seas and our territories with all the strength we are capable of.



"But the Malaysian security forces are capable of bloodying the nose of anyone who tries to attack this country".

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

In Malaysia we don't believe in devaluation. But our Ringgit has been effectively devalued because of the anarchy in the world's monetary system. We cannot prevent the de-facto devaluation of our currency but we are going to try to take advantage of it. We want to use our lowered cost to make it competitive in manufacturing and the provision of services. That is why we have been inviting investors to come here.

*E.M.F.
Foundation
Roundtable on
Malaysia.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 3,
1986*

*Opening of the
International
College, Bukit
Bintang.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 19, 1994*

We must be rigorous with regard to standards if we are to maintain the reputation of being providers of quality education. Our credibility must not be undermined. We are aware that if we are not sufficiently vigilant, there is the temptation that in the pursuit of quick profits, dubious arrangements will be resorted to and certificate mills will be set up.

The behaviour of a few can undermine the credibility of the whole nation, and the whole education industry will be brought into disrepute with subsequent loss to everyone.

*Tabling the
mid-term
review of
the 6th
Malaysia Plan,
Parliament
House.
December 16,
1993*

With respect to education, there is a need to develop it as a significant component of the services industry and eventually internationalise and develop it as a service export. The Government will, therefore, take steps to facilitate the establishment of private higher education degree granting institutions, including the setting up of branch campuses of established foreign institutions.

We have been given a term of five years. We do not want to hold an election as a game. We want to use the term to implement our duties. If elections are held frequently, they will cost the Government (financially).

*On when
would general
elections be
called.
Muar, June 9,
1994*

We do not play with elections such as calling an election when we feel we can win. If that's the case, then we can have elections every year.

To win an election, a candidate needs more than just votes from party members. He also needs votes from fence-sitters and supporters of opposition parties.

*Kota Bharu,
October 30,
1993*

We do not cheat in a general election for that matter, I myself have lost in an election. If there was any cheating, I should have won all the time.

*Kuala Lumpur,
August 16,
1994*

Emergency Powers were enforced to curb communist insurgency. The Communist Party of Malaya carried out a 41-year arms struggle before surrendering and laying down arms in December 1989. Speech at 7th Malaysian Law Conference. Kuala Lumpur, October 31, 1983

Strictly speaking emergency implies a short-term need, but as you know, the British taught us that emergencies can last for years and years. Since we have borrowed so much of their laws, we see no reason to reject the Emergency Powers given the situation that we are in. While you and I are quite safe in this hall, a lot of our soldiers are fighting in the jungle, fighting a very real war in which death can come quite suddenly and limbs lost through booby traps and the like. If things seem calm in the populated areas, it is because the forces are sweating it out in the jungles and the Emergency Powers are being enforced. By all means criticise the Emergency Powers but do not forget that we do have a real emergency on our hands.

Count your blessings. Malaysian workers are a lucky lot since they have so many chances of gaining employment in the country. Instead of them looking for jobs, the employers are the ones looking for them to fill vacancies. Workers here have the privilege of choosing the job they want. This privilege is not available in most other countries.

*Kemaman,
August 26,
1993*

No one who wants to work need be unemployed in Malaysia. At present more than one million foreigners have come to Malaysia either legally or illegally to work in this country because the wages offered are very much higher than in their own countries.

*Malacca, June
13, 1994*

*Dinner speech
on 'A United
Malaysian
Nation by the
year 2000'.
Kuala Lumpur,
January 31,
1992*

Ethnic and religious passions are particularly easy to inflame. Once aroused, they are difficult to subdue

..... In the past we have had our share of ethnic and religious conflicts. Once, we came close to catastrophe. If we can help it, we do not want to walk through these dark passages again. Hence our limits on certain activities. Issues considered to be especially sensitive and inflammatory are removed from the arena of public debate and controversy. Even if this is perceived as infringements on human rights particularly by some foreign quarters, we apologise to nobody. We can be sure that they will not be around to carry the burden when the nation is crippled by violence, or to pick up the pieces when it implodes. The limits that we impose on our rights and liberties we do by due process of law and democracy, and we have a healthy and stable working democracy as well as a deep respect for the rule of law.

If Malaysia is going to survive, we must sell abroad and not just expect to live on the domestic market. You can to a certain extent depend on import substitute industries but we have run out of most of them by now and have to think about export with maybe some leftovers for the domestic market. Once you think of export you cannot think anymore of protection. That is not to say that some other countries do not impose their own protection for themselves. But the fact is that we have to penetrate even that. The thing to be remembered is that even though we protect, say, our carpet manufacturing industry, other (foreign) people are still able to benefit. Similarly the protection that is erected against us in other countries must be penetrated by us by being more efficient and cost effective.

*Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

In the game of exports, Malaysians are again timid and prone to avoid risks. For ages we have produced commodities for others to sell and make profits. We have seemingly not awoken to the fact that while we will lose when the market is depressed, the agents, dealers, brokers and assorted intermediaries will continue to make money. It is time that we get more adventurous and sally forth into the wide world to sell our goods ourselves.

*Speech at
dinner hosted by
the Association
of Banks and
Financial
Institutions.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 23, 1983*

*Kuching,
August 30,
1993*

When a state administration only concentrates on state interests without taking into account national interests, the net result will be a loss to the people in that particular state.

*UMNO General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 4,
1993*

We are grateful that we are not dependent on aid and foreign hand-outs. This has at least given us the freedom to voice out our views on controversial issues at international forums.

*Tabling Sixth
Malaysia Plan
(1991-1995)
Parliament
House.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 10, 1991*

Foreign capital inflows can, however, be quite volatile and therefore it is unwise to depend heavily on such inflows in financing the country's resource needs. We must pay more attention in strengthening further the saving rate in the country.

Malaysia has always considered foreign investors as partners in development because they contribute to the growth of the country although they are profit oriented.

Closing ceremony of ESSO's 100 Years in Malaysia celebrations. Kuala Lumpur, August 23, 1993

I believe very strongly in attracting foreign investment from every corner of the globe, and the inflow of technology, know-how, entrepreneurship and modern management from the widest and richest possible range of sources. Otherwise, we will only be hurting ourselves.

Speech on "World Trade, GATT, Groups & Growth" at the Asia Society Conference on "Asia and the Changing World Order". Tokyo, May 13, 1993

*Tabling
the Sixth
Malaysia Plan
(1991-1995)
Parliament
House.*

*Kuala Lumpur,
July 10, 1991*

It has been noted that what is important to investors is not so much the tax exemptions but the political and economic stability of the country and the predictability of its policies and attitudes towards the private sector.

*On whether
businessmen
from certain
developed
countries kept
away from
Malaysia due to
certain remarks
by the Prime
Minister on
those countries.*

*At a dialogue
session with
participants of
conference on
trade and
investment
opportunities.*

*Kuala Lumpur,
November 15,
1993*

But in any case, I'm nasty towards Governments, not business people. Business people have a different view point. Governments might censure Malaysia for its labour policy whereas the business community thought otherwise as they were more interested to invest in a country like Malaysia where there was no labour problem. So I find that there is a total dichotomy between governments and business people and this has enabled us to get investments from the private sector.

We have preached public and private sector co-operation. We have recently begun preaching a three-way co-operation between the Government, the businesses and the workers to heighten economic growth. Now we want to suggest the participation of another important partner to make it a foursome. We would like to see the financial institutions throw their full weight behind the other three so that we all take off on a sustained economic growth path for the betterment of all of us.

*Speech at
annual dinner
of Financial
Institutions.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 21,
1989*

*Speech at the
1994 China
Summit
Meeting.
Beijing,
May 11, 1994*

I am a strong believer that governments have no business to be in business. They have a role in regulating and curbing excesses. Left to themselves the private sector can breed predators which grow and grow and swallow up their competitors, forming monopolies and cartels. Only governments can curb their excesses and break them up when necessary

A firm strong government can reasonably ensure a predictable future. A weak government, depending upon a fickle public, buffeted by the demands of the extremists of the right and the left, cannot be stable, much less ensure predictability

There is no such thing as a free lunch. And governments, good governments, cannot be had for free. A price will have to be paid. Before a good government can be conjured up, sacrifices will have to be made

Excessively populist governments have no principles or policies or programmes. They merely try to satisfy just about everyone. And that is fatal. There is no way any government can satisfy everyone

Changing governments is disruptive. Indeed even changing leaders is often disruptive.

I don't mind losing Sabah to the Opposition rather than having a Government that is not good in this State

A good government is supposed to be the slave of the people and not their boss.

Strong governments provide the necessary stability and predictability so essential to long-term investments but this does not mean the absence of free, democratic elections.

The coalition Government which represents major communities in the country has been reelected time after time, and with the people's continued support, the Government has been able to mobilise the human and natural resources to build one of the fastest-growing economies in the modern world.

Governments need to be checked and put in their place. Power cannot but have a corrupting tendency. But Governments cannot contribute when they are cowed and intimidated. In how many countries in the West are governments cowed by the power of the military-industrial complex, intimidated by the big money men, brow-beaten by trade union leaders, harrassed and terrorised by the Press - so intimidated in fact that they are deflected from doing what is necessary and what is just.

*On the need
for a good
government.
Kota Kinabalu
(Sabah),
April 2, 1994*

*Opening the
Pacific Rim
Business
Collaboration
Symposium.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 6,
1993*

*Message in
the supplement
on Malaysia
published in the
April 1993 issue
of "Scientific
American".*

*Speech at
Trinity College.
Oxford,
April 19, 1985*

*Fellowship
dinner of the
Institute of
Management
Consultants.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 7,
1984*

The Government is not altruistic when it helps business. It has no wish to see one small section of the community wax rich. As a democratic Government we are committed to the majority and the majority are relatively poor. If we help the rich, it is because we want to extract from them the riches that they make so that we may redistribute them to the rest. The milking must be done judiciously so that we will not kill them. Indeed, we should stimulate them to produce more so that we can get more.

A big portion of a small and shrinking cake is not as good as a fair portion of a growing one. That is this Government's philosophy. I am putting this crudely because brilliant minds in this country are frequently incapable of appreciating simple things. They see deviousness and injustice whenever the Government does anything and like Don Quixote they rise to fight these windmills of their creation. What a waste of intellectual energy at a time when the country needs teachers to teach good values and good work ethics.

Well, you know the history of the trade commissioners - it was a solution to all our problems when first rooted way back in the early 60s: if we have trade commissioners then we know how to do business. And then, of course, somebody says trade commissioners are members of the public and not government servants but the moment they become government servants, they want to have all the perks of government service - the permanency and all that and as a result now trade commissioners are government servants, pure and simple.

| *Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

Government servants by their very nature are not businessmen. So they do their work if you tell them to, but their imagination is limited because they are not really conversant from personal experience in the business field.

*Speech at the
signing
ceremony of
between
PERWAJA and
a consortium
of banks.
Selangor,
September 18,
1990*

The move into heavy industry was essentially correct but Government apparently overestimated management capacity to handle these sophisticated capital intensive industries. The mistakes have been well learnt and whether privatised or not, management skill must be given serious priority if we are not to fail again.

*On the proposed
enforcement
of Islamic
'Huddud' Laws
in Kelantan.
Kemaman,
October 12,
1993*

Trying to impose Pas' values on sections of the people who do not share similar beliefs would not endear the party to the people.

In fact, this would lend a wrong image of Islam as a principle in governance.

*On the proposed
enforcement of
Islamic 'huddud'
laws by PAS
Kelantan state
government.
Kuala Lumpur,
May, 1992*

They are so eager to cut people's hands as if not cutting the hands of criminals is un - Islamic.

We are placing greater emphasis on human resource development, in particular the moulding of the attitudes of our younger generation as well as expanding the educational and training facilities to meet the expanding skilled manpower needs of our growing economy. We are also taking the necessary steps to ensure that the private sector also plays a dominant role in the training of skilled manpower through joint-ventures as well as enterprise-based training.

*Tabling the Sixth
Malaysia Plan
(1991-1995)
Parliament
House.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 10, 1991*

Although peace is a key factor for development, the aspect of human resource development should also be given emphasis to achieve progress.

*Tapah, July 22,
1993*

We need groups like administrators who are efficient and honest and have ideas as well as a brilliant private sector which has ideas to develop the country's economy.

What we have between our ears, at our elbow and in our heart is much more important than what we have below our feet and around us. Our people is our ultimate resource. Without a doubt, in the 1990s and beyond, Malaysia must give the fullest emphasis possible to the development of this ultimate resource.

*Inaugural
meeting of the
Malaysian
Business
Council.
Kuala Lumpur,
February 28,
1992*

*Addressing the
46th Session of
the United
Nations General
Assembly.
New York,
September 24,
1991*

We in the poor countries would like to have some cheap hydro - electric power. True we have to sacrifice a few thousand acres of our forests. But we can spare these, for we have millions of acres more. But all manner of campaigns are mounted against our proposals for hydro - electric projects. Now of course the World Bank will be used to deprive poor countries of cheap hydro - electric power. And all these after the rich have developed most of their hydro - electric potentials. Can we be blamed if we think this is a ploy to keep us poor?



"Certainly, we want to preserve our forests. Certainly we want to maintain our clean atmosphere. But make no mistake; it will not be at the expense of the living conditions of our people".

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

In a situation where there is chaos and uncertainty over the question of inflation and the value of the currency, the economy will be destroyed.

Wage demand unrelated to productivity increases will further exacerbate inflationary forces. We must never allow ourselves to be trapped in a wage-price spiral.

Wage increases that are not matched by productivity and efficiency increases will be accompanied by high inflation rates which will ultimately nullify and render meaningless our improved earnings

Although there are many things that the Government can do to contain inflation, in the final analysis it is the public which will determine whether inflation gets out of control or not.

For this it is important that the people understand the mechanics of inflation and the avoidance of inflation psychology.

We read of inflation rates in some countries exceeding a thousand per cent and we wonder how this can happen.

The reason is that inflation mentality has set in.

When a consumer feels that the price is going to go up the next day, he will be very willing to buy at any price offered to-day. The price can be quite unreasonable but he will assume that he will get a good deal because it will still be cheaper than tomorrow's prices. The seller on his part is also concerned about how he is going to replenish his stock with today's receipts because the next consignment is bound to be more costly.

*At the launch
of World
Consumer's Day
Kuala Lumpur,
May 19, 1994*

*Tabling the
midterm review
of the 6th
Malaysia Plan,
Parliament
House.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 16,
1994*

*Tabling the Sixth
Malaysian Plan
(1991-1995)
Parliament
House.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 10, 1991*

He will therefore try to price his goods high in order to be able to finance the restocking of his goods.

Otherwise the amount of goods he deals in will diminish continuously.

The wholesaler, the manufacturer of food produce, the raw materials supplier, the transport operator, the banker and everyone will try to anticipate future price increase by increasing present prices.

The wage-earners, too will have to demand for more pay if they are to be able to buy increasingly costlier needs.

With the acceptance that prices will always increase and the need to adjust earnings and income to anticipate this on the part of everyone, inflation will not only take place but the rates will increase by geometric progression.

Once this mentality sets in nothing can really be done. Malaysia has fortunately been able to contain inflation, and credit must be given to the people.

The great Malaysian public has always been price conscious and will not buy what they think is overpriced.

As a result the upward pressure on prices is not there.

Indeed during the recession it was because the public and the government spent within their means that there was no significant increase in prices.

Malaysians must know that they are largely responsible for saving themselves from inflation.

And because they do this they are getting a lot of bonus in terms of rapid economic growth which definitely will be accompanied by a rise in income and purchasing power.

The Government has said before and will say it again: increase in earnings are meaningless if they are accompanied by inflation and their income will buy nothing more than what they could buy before the income increased.

The Malaysian public therefore must be disciplined and be conscious of their responsibility towards themselves, for in truth it is the public which cause inflation and it is they who will pay the price.

The focus of the government now is on the creation of a mature and sound information infrastructure as the basis to move the nation towards progress, dynamism and excellence in development

Relevant, accurate and up-to-date information is very important to determine the rate of socio-economic growth.

*Launching the 'Civil Service Link' network at the Malaysian, Administrative Modernisation and Management Planning Unit in the Prime Minister's Department.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 9, 1994*

One obvious way to minimise insider trading is for companies, their officers and the relevant people involved in any significant corporate deals to act in a more responsible manner. The authorities, on their part, will not hesitate to take stern action against any one found to be implicated in unfair trading practice. At the same time, the directors and management of listed companies have to be more responsible towards the investing public and the minority shareholders in the discharge of their duties. When we read about big names in business being jailed in other countries, it is well to remember that the price to be paid for being greedy is very painful.

*Opening the Malaysia Capital Growth Opportunities Convention and Exposition.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 2, 1990*

*On the role of
the Institute of
Strategic and
International
Studies.*

*Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

..... the Institute of Strategic Studies is a necessity because there is a need for us to study in depth our relationships with countries in the region and the things that are happening in this region. There is a need to understand deeply about all of these things so we can formulate our policies based on this knowledge.

Presently, we know quite a lot of what is happening but there is no real analysis done of the kind of forces that are working in this area and also throughout the world which is getting smaller. We need an institute that is not bound by Government regulations - to examine things such as if the US has a new president, what does it mean for us? Or if the Soviets suddenly decide to be expansionist or forget about being expansionist, what will it mean to us? Some academics and others must come together to examine in depth and have sufficient resources to study these subjects very carefully and advice the Government - or give their views.

We have to be very cautious because sometimes when we lift up the lid everything will come out again.

They don't do it (activities that could harm national security) now because the Act is there, but they may start again if we abolish ISA.

Today there is no chaos in the country because would be trouble makers fear the Internal Security Act (ISA). There is a need for the ISA even if the country is enjoying peace. If the ISA is abolished, there will be unrest in the country.

*On the
necessity to
continue with
the ISA.
Kuala Lumpur,
May 25, 1994*

*Responding to
comments by
former Sabah
Chief Minister
Datuk Joseph
Pairin Kitingan
that the ISA
should be
reviewed and
those arrested
should be
charged in open
court.
Kuching,
May 22, 1991*

On 'The Role and Influence of Religions in Society'.

Kuala Lumpur, September 14, 1993

The Muslim community suffers from a different malady. Weak and oppressed, suffering all kinds of psychological ailments, many seek solace and escape in esoteric religious practices. In so doing they interpret Islam in ways which are un-Islamic. Because of this, Islam and the Muslim have acquired a bad name. It is regarded as a millstone around the neck of the followers, retarding their development. It has become associated with unprincipled practices such as terrorism and injustices to their co-religionists and the followers of other religions. It has split them into warring factions, causing untold misery and carnage among them. And it has brought this noble humanising religion to disrepute.

The Muslims are no longer in control of their destiny. They are being manipulated and made the tools and proxies for the conflicts of others. And they suffer this willingly, blaming others and blaming fate.

Muslim extremists pride themselves in their adherence to Islam. But in fact they are the bane of Islam. It is they who give Islam a bad image, who prevent the world from understanding the true teachings of Islam, who repel would-be followers and indeed it is they who exasperate and drive other Muslims to forsake the faith and succumb to the blandishments of materialism and ungodly ideologies.

With the end of the Cold War and the fall of communism, the indications are that the West may turn its attention on Islam. There are signs to show that the West now considers Islam as a threat. There is a possibility that we may be the target of direct attacks from the West. With our present weaknesses, a Western attack will destroy us completely.

*Speech at
UMNO General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 4,
1994*

One of the saddest ironies of recent times is that Islam, the faith that once made its followers progressive and powerful, is being invoked to promote retrogression which will bring in its wake weakness and eventual collapse. A force for enlightenment, it is being turned into a rationale for narrow-mindedness; an inspiration towards unity, it is being twisted into an instrument of division and destruction

*Kuala Lumpur
March 16, 1986*

The fault is not in Islam but in Islamic leaders who are not above making mistakes and yielding to base impulses. If all Muslim leaders shared a common interpretation of Islamic teaching, Muslims would not be divided. And those among the Muslims who were not well-versed in the religion would not have to choose between interpretations and between leaders.

*Commenting on
"Huddud" law
(Islamic Penal
Code) passed by
the PAS state
government of
Kelantan.
Kuala Lumpur,
May 16, 1994*

Islam stresses the importance of justice and advocates that there be no cruelty in the implementation of any ruling.

*Alor Setar,
January 13,
1994*

We are always in disagreement and regard others less Muslim than us, against us and in enmity with us. The number of Muslims killed by Muslims is more than the number killed by the enemies of Islam, the non - Muslims.

*At a seminar
jointly organised
by the Institute
of Islamic
Understanding
Malaysia (UKIM)
and Goethe
Institute.
Kuala Lumpur,
September 14,
1993*

We have Muslim groups who feel that the Government is not practising Islam the way it should be. They can criticise, but if they advocate violence, we will step in.

*International
Islamic University
10th Anniversary
Celebrations.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 24, 1993*

But in truth at no time in history has Islam been as greatly humiliated as now, at no time have the Muslims wavered more in their faith. But as a Muslim I feel it is my duty to say all these even if I will come under much criticism especially by the orthodox.

The first thing that has to be remembered is that an Islamic State is nothing more than a State which is morally right and I think everybody wants a State which is morally right. So an Islamic State is not some strange system that is going to result in catastrophe. If this happens, it is not because of being an Islamic State but because of deviations from Islamic teaching - then we have the kind of chaos that you see in some places where people demand that certain things be done, ostensibly because it is religious-based but upon deeper examination it is just an expansion of someone's frustration or anger or hatred. Therefore an Islamic State is not something that anybody should be worried about - it would be a State that is just to everyone, Muslims and non-Muslims

*On the concept
of an Islamic
State.*

*Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

As for the Islamic State, again all it means is a State based on social justice. Again, we are not going to force it down people's throats. We have to take into consideration the situation around us. The fact is that not everybody in this country are Muslims and what is the Muslim rule for the non-Muslims? It must be something that does not oppress them. This is very important in Islam - no oppression. How do we carry out an Islamic Government which does not oppress the non-Muslims? What constitutes oppression?

Is a Government that insists there should be no cheating an oppressive Government? And if we say that it is not, then that is what an Islamic Government is all about. People should not have fear, create a bogey out of this concept of an Islamic Government. Don't look at some nations and then say, well, the chaos in that Government is due to Islam. It may not be due to Islam anymore than you

have a right to say that the Spanish inquisition is a manifestation of Christianity. Christianity had nothing to do with the inquisition - it was because of a group of power-crazy people. That was not a Christian Government. It can even be said to be an un-Christian Government.

So if you find that there may be some injustice happening in Islamic countries it is not necessarily due to Islam. In fact it is not due to Islam.

..... I am not trying to say that we are going to impose anything, but where it is possible then we will try to perform those Islamic teachings because Islam does not propose to impose itself.

So there is nothing to fear in this country because there could be no injustice if Islam is to be followed.

*Kota Bharu,
July 26, 1993*

Malaysia would show to the world that the Islamic Administration is a just administration so that more countries could accept governments led by Muslims.

I will always respect the independence of the Judiciary. We do not expect the courts to be pro or anti - Government, only pro the Constitution and pro the law. The Government always considers the Constitution and the law carefully before we do anything - so we expect the Judiciary to be free to judge our alleged trespasses without fear or favour, but in accordance with the Constitution, in accordance with the law, in accordance with the law of evidence and procedure and justly and fairly. We shall always respect their judgements. But the right to make laws must necessarily be that of the legislature.

*Opening the
General
Assembly of the
ASEAN Law
Association.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 26,
1982*

We are very fortunate that our judiciary is straight and honest. We are fortunate that it is independent of the executive. In most courts in too many countries, a man is considered guilty until he is proven - Influential. We are fortunate in having, on the Bench, men of high professional competence and high moral integrity

*Opening the 8th
Malaysian Law
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 14,
1985*

Justice and the Rule of Law are meaningless unless there exists a legal system which can efficiently and effectively transform philosophy into action, which can take social intent and make it social reality.

*Criticising
confrontational
method of
resolving
industrial
disputes.
Kemaman,
October 12,
1993*

According to their western methods, whenever there is a demand from workers, especially if the demand is quite extreme, attempts to find a settlement inevitably end in a test of who is stronger. If the employer is willing (to be tested) to the extent of risking his business, the employer wins. If the employer cannot withstand the pressure by the workers (through pickets and strikes), then the workers will win. This is primitive. Today if workers and employers have problems, they can solve them through a more civilised way, that is through negotiations on arbitration where all factors would be taken into account.

*Speech at
UMNO General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 4,
1993*

The Western ways are not always the most appropriate. We should not accept all their suggestions. Settling of industrial disputes using the “test of strength” approach is primitive. This is a manifestation of shallow Western civilisation and we need not accept this method. Instead, we should utilise our own methods.

The shortage of workers is being felt at all levels, from the managerial to the unskilled.

The shortage of labour that we are experiencing is a consequence of the success of our development efforts.

It is a stage that most of the developed countries have gone through in the process of development.

While the present tight labour market situation will enable the workers to benefit from the high wages offered, we must also be sensitive to the fact that if we do not take corrective action in time, the shortage of labour, both skilled and unskilled, can become an impediment to the growth of the economy and affect the socio-economic progress of the nation.

This is because higher wages if unaccompanied by higher productivity will make our products less competitive and the shortage of labour together with higher wages will inhibit investments.

*Tabling the Sixth
Malaysia Plan
(1991-1995)
Parliament
House.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 10, 1991*

*Speech at
annual dinner
of Financial
Institutions.
Kuala Lumpur,
September 7,
1990*

Labuan is to be made into an International Offshore Financial Centre (IOFC). The sceptics are already saying that this is going to fail. We do not know, of course. But the Government has been told of its foolishness so many times that it seems to us to be an endorsement. Since this is a financial project, we hope the banks will look carefully for opportunities that it may offer. If Vanuatu can be fairly successful as an IOFC, I think Labuan can, i.e. of course unless we think we are less qualified than that tiny South Pacific Island nation.

*Speech at the
conference on
"Labuan: An
International
Offshore
Financial
Centre".
Kuala Lumpur,
February 5,
1991*

The launching of Labuan as an IOFC represents an important part of the strategy to develop financial services to support the nation's development thrust. It is envisaged that Labuan will become a window to Malaysia in attracting new sources of foreign capital to finance Malaysia's rapid industrialisation process. Labuan is expected to play a key role in the effort to develop Malaysia into a truly viable regional financial centre.

The law may be an ass but if you flout it simply because you disagree with it then orderliness in life cannot be achieved. Similarly if you flout the law because you think you can get away with it, there will be no orderliness either. The fact is that if everybody flouts the law, the law will be unenforceable. If, for example, all the people in this country decide to undress in public, the equally undressed policemen cannot arrest anyone.

Laws, ethics and behaviour are determined by the people. They must therefore obey and follow them. If some erred the rest can act to curb them. Minority rights must be respected but so must the rights of the majority be respected by the minority. Only mutual respect can lead to a harmonious society. And only a harmonious society can be a secure society.

Laws are enacted because a need has to be met. Because legislators and their legal advisors are not perfect, so are the laws they enact. The spirit or the purpose of the law are therefore more important than the letter. But unfortunately it is the letter of the law which is given more importance.

*First National
Conference on
National
Security
organised by
Institute of
Strategic and
International
Studies.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 15, 1986*

*Opening the 8th
Malaysian Law
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 14,
1985*

*Opening the
General
Assembly of
ASEAN Law
Association.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 26,
1982*

I affirm my support for the rule of law. I am no lawyer and have experience of appearing in court only as a medical witness when I was a Government doctor; yet I am aware of the importance that the law plays in protecting the life and limb, liberty and property of the citizen. No man is above the law, not even those in power. Those in power are in fact trustees and their duty is to promote the public good, not self-enrichment.

*Opening the 8th
Malaysian Law
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 14,
1985*

Every legal system can work effectively and efficiently only if all the players play according to both the written and the unspoken rules of the game. Co-operation, not collusion, of course, amongst all the practitioners of our system of justice, certainly between those in the legal and judicial service and the Bar, is of clear importance. It goes without saying that the principal players in the system must respect one another and understand each other's problems.

The emphasis on Look East was because before, we were looking fully at the west. Now, we look both east and west.

*Kuala Lumpur,
May 31, 1994*

LOOK EAST. This means emulating the rapidly developing countries of the East in the effort to develop Malaysia. Matters deserving attention are diligence and discipline in work, loyalty to the nation and to the enterprise or business where the worker is employed, priority of group over individual interests, emphasis on productivity and high quality, upgrading efficiency, narrowing differentials and gaps between executives and workers, management systems which concentrate on long term achievement and not solely on increases in dividends or staff incomes in the short term, and other factors which can contribute to progress for our country. Looking East does not mean begging from the East or shifting the responsibility for developing Malaysia to them. Responsibility towards our country is our own and not that of others. Looking East also does not mean buying all goods from or granting all contracts to companies of the East, unless their offer is best.

*Part of text of a memorandum to senior government officials spelling out the meaning of Look East Policy.
Kuala Lumpur,
August, 1983*

As long as we benefit from the Look East Policy, we'll continue to look East.

*Kuala Lumpur,
November 27,
1993*

*5th Asean-Japan
Symposium.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 24, 1982*

Looking East does not mean total Japanization, or a complete break with the West. But it certainly means the almost total dependence on the West will be replaced by a more balanced attitude towards both East and West. Look East does not mean that we will do business only with the particular countries in the East. We will continue with our traditional trading partners as long as it pays to do so. It should be clear that Looking East will not result in the kind of lop-sided policy that we had when we used to "Look West". In fact it will mean a much more equitable policy, in which the best of the East and West will guide the development of Malaysia.

*Speech at dinner
in honour of
Japanese Prime
Minister
Yasuhiro
Nakasone.
Kuala Lumpur,
May 8, 1983*

There is now an obviously concerted attempt to discredit the Look East Policy. Not only is the antagonism of foreigners being aroused, but Malaysians themselves are being urged to reject the Policy. Words are put into the mouth of Malaysians, or are twisted, so as to give a picture of their distaste of the Policy and by extension, of Japan. Definite racial overtones have been injected into this campaign. There are even attempts to play members of the Malaysian Government against each other. Lately the attacks have turned personal with all kinds of innuendos and insinuations. I regret this spill-over of anti-Japanese feelings into Malaysia and the irresponsibility of the culprits. But we are more convinced than ever that the Look East Policy is the right policy for us and we will continue to be close and co-operative with Japan.

We also cannot deny that the Malays and Bumiputeras on the whole have achieved a lot of success in many fields.

In the British colonial days, the Malays and Bumiputeras were mostly farmers and junior government officials. This has since changed. Today, we have Malays and Bumiputeras as heads of department, scientists, actuaries, nuclear physicists, surgeons, experts in the fields of medicine and aviation, bankers and corporate leaders. In fact, some are already managers of major conglomerates with assets worth billions of ringgit and able to acquire bigger companies in the open market or participate in mergers and acquisitions which are complex and sophisticated.

What is even more encouraging is most of these Malays and Bumiputeras originate from the rural areas, from families of farmers, fishermen and settlers.

If in the past it was difficult to see Malays and Bumiputeras doing business in towns and cities, today their numbers are swelling. In fact, there are many big buildings in the cities which are owned by Malays and Bumiputeras. In the past, they could hardly afford a double-storey terrace-shoplot.

These are some of the achievements of the Malays and Bumiputeras. They indicate that the Malays and Bumiputeras have the talent and ability to progress and be successful in whatever fields they undertake, provided they have the interest, opportunity and adequate training to do so.

*UMNO General
Assembly,
November 4,
1993*

These successes are also Umno's and no one can deny that. The successes of Malays and Bumiputera children who are now scientists, corporate figures, academicians and others is due to Umno's struggle and the Government it leads. Let no one say that any other government would have done the same because this forms part of its responsibility

..... We understand why foreigners do not like to see the Malays and the policies designed by a government led by the Malays succeed. We also understand this is also the stand taken by non-Bumiputera opposition parties. But we are frustrated to see Malays who enjoy these benefits do not like to see their own race progress

..... The majority of the people in this country are Muslims. The Muslims in the world today are persecuted, tortured and chased out of their own country because they are weak, backward, forever begging for hand-outs and depending on others. Are we Malays also waiting to be colonized again? Do we want whatever happened to other Muslims to befall us too?

*Tabling Sixth
Malaysia Plan
(1991-1995)
Parliament
House.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 10, 1991*

The Bumiputera for their part must be prepared to undergo training and to be disciplined and patient. They must accept that there is no easy way to succeed. The acquisition of skills must come before support and opportunities can be given to them.

Misinterpretation of Islam is only one of the many forms of confusion threatening the Malays today. The challenge is tremendous - the stake survival itself.

*Kuala Lumpur,
March 16,
1986*

It must be emphasised that we do not have all the time in the world. Bumiputera cannot expect economic policies to always favour them. Politically split as they are, the day may not be far off when their influence in the Government will diminish and the government will no longer be willing to defend and formulate policies to help them. They must remember that there will always be competition in business. Such competition will not always be according to the rules. Like politics, business can be dirty. Complaining about being sabotaged all the time will not help. They must appreciate that such so-called sabotage are frequently with their collaboration. They must therefore learn to face competition. For as long as they lean on the Government to protect them, their skills will not be properly developed. There is only so much the Government can do. The rest will have to be done by them.

*Tabling the
Second Outline
Perspective
Plan (OPP2)
(1991-2000).
Kuala Lumpur,
June 17, 1991*

*Opening the
33rd
Commonwealth
Parliamentary
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
September 1,
1987*

We are a multi-racial country. It is not of our own making. It was thrust upon us during the period when we were under colonial rule. Since Independence we have been trying to foster racial harmony. It is not easy. As an example the Malays are Muslims and eat beef but abhor pork. The Chinese are Taoists or Buddhists and eat pork. The Indians are Hindus and do not take both pork and beef. Theoretically, we cannot even sit down together to eat. But we do and we do it often. This clearly demonstrates that Malaysians respect each other's religions, customs and beliefs, are able to give and take and are also tolerant of one another. We, therefore, get on reasonably well.

One would think that the people who inflict this on us would appreciate this, appreciate the tolerance of the three major races in Malaysia. One would think that we would be helped. But no such appreciation is forthcoming. Instead, we read reports that some races are badly treated in Malaysia, that very soon there will be racial violence, etc. The fact that very soon, soon passes by with nothing happening does not deter them. Soon they will report again that very soon there will be racial riots in Malaysia.

Malaysia should not be developed only in the economic sense. It must be a nation that is fully developed along all the dimensions: economically, politically, socially, spiritually, psychologically and culturally.

Working paper at the inaugural meeting of the Malaysian Business Council. Kuala Lumpur, February 28, 1993

The people of Malaysia, irrespective of their racial origins possess the values, attitudes and behaviours which have helped the country achieve the level of unity and nationhood that it has attained today. We do have our extremists, but by and large, Malaysians are attached to the country, peace-loving, pragmatic, accommodating and respectful of each other's legitimate rights. They also cherish freedom, stability and social justice.

"Towards a united Malaysian Nation by the Year 2000". Kuala Lumpur, January 31, 1992

We ought to be thankful as the people in Malaysia understand about democracy. They know that democracy gives them the opportunity to determine their leaders at least once in five years. We should not listen to the interpretation of democracy by westerners.

"The meaning of Vision 2020". Seremban, May 26, 1991

*Launching of
"Leadership by
Example"
campaign.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 19,
1983*

We do not just wish for wealth, but we realise that a nation and a people that is weak and backward will not be respected. We have to acquire all forms of knowledge that is now possessed by the developed nations in order to safeguard our honour and integrity. It is only when we have attained their level of development that we will be able to hold our own and not be pushed around and bullied. Only those without honour are willing to let their nation be belittled. Our principal hope and aim is to safeguard the sovereignty of this nation and the honour of its people.

*Asean-US
Economic
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 18,
1981*

Malaysia is ruled by conservatives whose only desire is to develop the country for the benefit of the people. Radicalism and extremism has been rejected not only by Government but also by the people. There are of course extremists and fanatics but they have not been able to make headway among the masses. There is consequently little fear of anti foreign agitations of the kind seen in some countries. However, it does not mean that Malaysians doesn't have national pride or they are not sensitive. They are likely to be peeved if you say they live on trees.

It is the duty of the government to be associated with the business people because in Malaysia Incorporated, the government and the private sector work together to develop this country.

*Kuala Lumpur,
July 30, 1994*

The Malaysia Incorporated concept means that Malaysia should be viewed as a company where the government and the private sector are both owners and workers together in this company. In a company, all owners/workers are expected to co-operate to ensure the company's success. Only through the success of the company, will the owners' and workers' well-being be safeguarded and improved.

*Part of text of
a memorandum
to senior
government
officials spelling
out the meaning
of "Malaysia
Incorporated".
Kuala Lumpur,
August, 1983*

If Malaysia is viewed as a company, then Malaysians, whether from the government or private sector, are also the owners and employees in Malaysia Incorporated. The success of the company is then surely dependent on the efforts and co-operation of all parties, whether from the government or private sector.

A company progresses and prospers with the advancement of businesses and enterprises in that country. The government finances all its expenditure, including staff salaries, with taxes and revenue collected from the activities and profits of private businesses and enterprises. The more successful the private sector and the more plentiful the business and enterprises, the greater the revenue and taxes for government collection.

Since government services are needed for many business activities, hence, the services rendered by government officers and staff play an important role in determining the success of all

business in the country. More efficient and prompt government services would increase the companies' prospects for profits. Larger profits in turn ensure more taxes for the government. At the same time, prospering business will create more jobs and related businesses. Those who get these opportunities will spend their incomes, thus inevitably stimulating various other economic activities. The purchase of some of these goods will be taxed. And again, the government will collect taxes to finance the country's current and development expenditure.

On the other hand, poor services from the government will lead to losses or less than satisfactory profits, or increased prices to meet operating costs. In these circumstances, the government will receive less taxes, while the cost of living would increase, bringing a multitude of adverse consequences.

It should be obvious that satisfactory services by government staff would be advantageous to themselves, besides ensuring development and prosperity for the nation.

Malaysia Incorporated can therefore be defined as the concept of co-operation between the government and the private sector for the latter to succeed, thus make greater contributions to national development.

It is important to remember here that even the unskilled worker or the hawker plays a role in the economic sector and is therefore involved in the Malaysia Incorporated concept.

MALAYSIAN CAR PROJECT

◀ 56

The Malaysian car has been called a Malaysian nightmare and it is losing money, argue its critics. But how many new motorcar industries even in developed countries make money the first few years of their existence? In fact, quite a number of new car factories went under without selling hardly one car. Companies making aeroplanes fold up even faster. What I am trying to say is that industries fail and industries succeed. It is a bit too early to say that the Malaysian Industrial Policy is wrong. In any case it should really not concern others, particularly foreign industrialists. Let Malaysians muddle their way through but do take advantage of their policy.

Commenting on early criticism on the feasibility of the Malaysian Car (Proton Saga) project. Speech at Luncheon hosted by the Confederation of British Industry. London, July 23, 1987

MALAYSIAN CHINESE

• 57

We are not like other countries which oppress the Chinese community and we treat everyone equally. We support the opening of Chinese schools and there are no restrictions against the Chinese community.

Kuala Lumpur, June 13, 1994

*Message in
a supplement
on Malaysia
published in
the April 93
issue of
"Scientific
American"
magazine.*

Our workers are highly motivated, trainable and eager to learn while their positive work culture, ethics and attitudes have resulted in industries being cost-effective and efficient. Even though wages have been rising steadily, increases in quality and productivity continue to position Malaysia as a very competitive location for many kinds of industries.

*Speech at
annual dinner
of Financial
Institutions.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 28,
1987*

Now, manufacturing is not easy. Because we have no new products or processes to give us unique advantages, we have to go into areas where others more experienced than us have already trodden. This implies competition and competition seldom favours newcomers. Many of us are going to fall along the way. We are going to make many mistakes and we are going to have to pay highly for these mistakes. But if we believe that our salvation lies in diversifying into manufacturing we have to soldier on.

MAY 13, 1969 RACIAL RIOTS

◀ 60

Since independence in 1957 we have had only one major racial clash. That too was controlled within a period of just over a year. Since then the stability is palpable. Malaysia has in fact developed at a much more rapid pace after the riots of 1969 than before. This is not to say that the riots were necessary. But it did demonstrate to all the races in Malaysia the folly of allowing narrow racialism to take over. Since the riots, pragmatism has largely won the day. Every race has learnt that in Malaysia no single race can have all that it wants for itself.

*Speech at an
International
Symposium,
KEIO University,
Tokyo,
November 10,
1983*

M E T A L I N D U S T R Y

◀ 61

One area that cannot be missed if we are to industrialise is the metals. No country which does not understand the behaviour and application of metals can ever hope to industrialise. And the basic metal for industry is still iron and steel.

*Fellowship night
at the Malaysian
Institute of
Directors.
Kuala Lumpur,
January 6, 1984*

*Speech at dinner
in honour of
Malcolm Fraser,
Prime Minister
of Australia.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 2, 1982*

Quite a few Malaysians have migrated to Australia. If Australia does not mind, we do not mind either. Malaysians who are prepared to be Malaysians only when things go their ways are not going to be missed by those who are prepared to take the good with the bad. But the policy of taking only highly qualified Malaysians is unfair to a lot of unqualified Malaysians who would also like to migrate to Australia. The result is that we have quite a few misfits and liabilities left behind for us to put up with. These people refuse to accept the will of the majority and are constantly creating issues and instigating foreigners who are not knowledgeable about the true facts to blacken the image of Malaysia. We do hope you will reconsider your policy and take them also. Experience has shown that what they vehemently oppose in Malaysia they will accept meekly in Australia and other western societies. Basically their problems is one of an inferiority complex.

Can we trust these kind of leaders to govern wisely, sincerely and fairly? Would we have the confidence that our country will continue to progress? Would we be confident that the Malays and other Bumiputeras would not be sold by these leaders?

Only those whose minds are unsound would believe that an administration led by corrupt criminals would bring happiness and progress to our people and country

..... I know that those who like to receive or give bribes believe that others are like them. Its impossible to find someone who's straight. I realise that I am also exposed to allegations, and that my denial would not be believed

..... In our party, if money politics is accepted as something normal and unavoidable, then certainly in the first place those who are elected to lead the party will comprise people who are rich and who regard corruption as halal and permissible and this means that our leaders will consist of criminals.

Any role of money in politics is not good. I hope all those concerned would avoid using a lot of money in their political activities.

Money politics can become serious. It is the thin end of the wedge. It starts small and eventually involves large sums of money.

This is the characteristic of 'money politics' because it will come to a situation where more and more money would be offered

On leaders who come to power using money.

UMNO special delegates Assembly.

Kuala Lumpur, June 19, 1994

Kuala Lumpur, August 16, 1993

*Opening the
International
Chinese
Newspapers
Convention.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 10,
1990*

Few countries populated by people of different races have been able to preserve their lingual and cultural identities.

In most countries citizenship requires total cultural and linguistic identification with the definite people of the country. A Chinese Australian or a Chinese American or a Chinese Canadian is more Australian or American or Canadian than a Chinese Malaysian or Malaysian Chinese is Malaysian. Certainly a Chinese in Thailand, Indonesia or the Philippines is more identified with the indigenous native people there than a Malaysian Chinese is with the Malays and other indigenous people of Malaysia.

But Malaysia is a tolerant country and the preservation of the root cultures of the people have not caused the kind of schism that is seen in many other multi-racial countries. Except for the one race riot in 1969, the different races in Malaysia have lived in relative harmony. It would be hypocritical to say that race relations in Malaysia is ideal. But by comparison we are more able to live together than in many other multi-racial communities in the East or the South or the West. Certainly we do not have the continuous violent conflicts and rebellions that characterise some countries where the population is multi-racial.

Malaysia is a lucky country but our success did not come through luck alone. Malaysia is a success today because of the courage and the wisdom of our past leaders who were prepared to embrace change and motivate our people to accept change. As a young nation evolving our own systems of values and practices, we need to maintain our rapid progress. We should always be ready to learn from others but the choices should be ours to make.

*World
Leadership
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
May 22, 1994*

But building a nation out of a diverse people with differing historical, ethnic, linguistic, religious, cultural and geographical backgrounds is something more than just fostering consensus on the basic character of a state or nation. It involves the fostering of shared historical experiences: shared values; a feeling of common identity and shared destiny that transcends ethnic bonds without undermining ethnic identity, loyalty, commitment and an emotional attachment to the nation; and the flowering of distinctly national ethos

*Speech at the
'A United
Malaysian
Nation by the
year 2020'
dinner.
Kuala Lumpur,
January 31,
1992*

..... But all this, only if we manage our nation-building process well. This will entail honouring our respective obligations and responsibilities under the Constitution, whether it relates to politics, citizenship, socio-economic opportunities, language, religion or the respective powers of the centre and the state. This was the solemn pledge that we all made when we worked out our consensus. This pledge we must continue to fulfill, sincerely and fully.

Managing our nation-building well will also entail that we redress the socio-economic imbalances among the various ethnic groups and the various regions in our country. Grow, we no doubt must. If we do not grow we will not have the resources to redress anything. But redress we must too. If we do not we will self-destruct, which will reduce to nought all our growth.

*National Day
message.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 30,
1993*

National Day is a day for the people to look back on the history of the struggle for independence and the younger generation in particular should know about this struggle so that they would be able to value and preserve the independence. This is because if we are not careful, imperialism in a subtle form through economic pressure, cultural influence and so forth can return.



"Our principal hope and aim is to safeguard the sovereignty of this nation and the honour of its people".

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

National development is a major preoccupation of modern states. It is an instinctive response to man's quest for better existence. National development is the process of achieving a better state of well-being given a certain set of norms and values of what is good and desirable.

The concept of development and national development has gone through a process of change and adaptation itself. While initially its emphasis was more on material economic progress, today, more and more it is seen as a total upliftment and balanced progress. Today, development is no longer accepted as a cultural-bound western-biased phenomenon, but as a contrived phenomenon with importance placed to its particular context. Its material and physical components are regarded only as a dimension and more as a means for realising a greater, fuller and meaningful human existence materially and spiritually.

*Speech at the
National
Science Forum,
Universiti
Pertanian,
May 10, 1983*

*Speech at the
opening of the
3rd Congress of
Angkatan
Keadilan
Rakyat(AKAR),
a component
party of the
National Front.
Kota Kinabalu,
July 23, 1994*

Perhaps one day, when we are no longer apprehensive about whether our community is represented or not, we will have one party without any coalition.

But the time has not come yet because we still harbour apprehension on whether our interests are taken care of in the Government or party. It is for this reason that the BN is the best for our country

..... No party is being left out, whether they represent the majority or the minority group. Everyone has a fair share of representation. The BN concept is therefore acceptable to everyone and is better than a one-party system concept as every section of the community is fairly represented

The BN is the symbol of justice for all communities in Malaysia.

*Officiating the
Parti Gerakan
23rd delegates
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 30, 1994*

They predicted that we will disintegrate in no time but they have been proven wrong as the BN is still united and strong.

We do not have a special formula for the BN's success. BN is successful because the spirit of understanding, compromise and tolerance exists among the leaders and members.

Willingness to give and take and compromise did not mean that there were winners and losers.

We give and take and compromise for the general good of the country and the people and this overrides all other narrow interests.

The stability and unity enjoyed by the country had given confidence to foreign investors and the economic cake had grown bigger to be shared by all.

This has placed Malaysia as the 19th biggest trading nation in the world. We have attained this through the Barisan concept of co-operation.

The BN has the correct administrative policy and there is no doubt that the present administration is suited to this country's multi-racial and multi-religious population. What we are doing now is not against Islam.

*Speech at the
20th Anniversary
Celebration of
National Front.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 24, 1994*

*Kota Bharu,
July 26, 1993*

*Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

With regard to national philosophy, we must be more resilient, we must expect that there will be good times and bad times. During good times we can live well, but during bad times, we must accept the need to tighten our belts, to do without some of the luxuries that we are used to, to cut down on expenses, to be more careful about our management and expenditure - whatever assets we have. All these things should constitute the national philosophy and help make us more resilient, more able to endure the bad times and yet be ready for the good times when it comes.

At the moment, of course, we emphasize discipline, hard work, increase in productivity. If we do these things during a bad period, we will not only sustain ourselves when the good times come, but we will be more competitive than ever before.

But security is not just a matter of military capability. National security is inseparable from political stability, economic success and social harmony. Without these all the guns in the world cannot prevent a country from being overcome by its enemies, whose ambition can be fulfilled sometimes without firing a single shot. All they need really is to subvert the people and set up a puppet regime.

In military terms, apart from the communist guerrillas, we really do not have enemies at the moment. But we do have forces or nations which, whether consciously or otherwise, are undermining our society

Clearly economic difficulties are a serious threat to national security. Failure to understand this threat may result in a cycle of recession followed by political instability, security threats and even greater recession. The skillful management of the economy and clear thinking are therefore an integral part of the strategy for national security.

Political stability is the sine qua non of national security. In a less sophisticated age politics are confined to a small elite at the top. They had their intrigues and their quarrels but because there were only a few of them, political instability did not affect the people much.

*First National
Conference on
National
Security
organised by
the Institute of
Strategic and
International
Studies.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 15, 1986*

*Conference on
Vision 2020.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 23,
1993*

Of all the central objectives set out in Vision 2020, we would be foolish to forget that national unity is the most fundamental, the sine qua non, the most basic of our objective.

*Second
Malaysian
Chinese
Economic
Congress.
Kuala Lumpur,
September, 1992
Asia Week,
September 11,
1992*

The government aims to speed up economic growth while creating opportunities that are more fair for all parties. This is the only suitable way to ensure stability and national unity in the future.



"And nothing heightens up our dull moments and our old age than the sound of children's laughter and their innocent chatter"

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

NATIONAL WEALTH

◀ 72

The equitable distribution of the national wealth will continue to be the primary agenda towards the creation of social justice and a caring society. The Government will strive to establish a socially just and equitable society by ensuring sufficient opportunities for all Malaysians to participate in and benefit from the mainstream of economic development and wealth of the nation.

Tabling the mid-term review of the 6th Malaysia Plan, Parliament House. Kuala Lumpur, December 16, 1993

NATURAL RESOURCES

◀ 73

A country's richness in natural resources is a plus but it needed people who have ideas to turn these resources into tangible benefits. If Malaysia had continued to depend on natural resources like tin it would have become poor because of the price crash suffered by this commodity. But thank God we had shifted to industrial development before the tin market fell.

Launching the "Kampungku" programme at Batu Tiga. Tapah, July 22, 1993

*On the trend
of campaigning
for UMNO
party posts.
Kuala
Terengganu,
September 10,
1993*

Last time, there were no quarrels among contestants, no allegations, no smear campaigns through newspapers, no poison-pen letters or tension in such affairs. In previous years, it was not considered a shame for contestants to lose because winning and losing were accepted as part of the normal process of election. However, now we have people who want to win at all costs and this sort of attitude is very unhealthy.

NEW DEVELOPMENT POLICY (NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY)

◀ 75

The Second Outline Perspective Plan covering the period 1991-2000 has been formulated based on a new policy called the New Development Policy (NDP). This new policy will maintain the basic strategies of the NEP of eradicating poverty and restructuring society so as to correct social and economic imbalances and thereby contribute towards national unity.

National Unity remains the ultimate goal of the NDP because a united society is essential to the promotion of social and political stability and sustained development. The NDP will set the pace to enable Malaysia to become a fully developed nation by the year 2020 not only economically but also in terms of social justice, moral and ethical values, political sophistication, quality of life and the administrative efficiency of the Government.

The NDP forms part of a longer term vision wherein by the year 2020 Malaysia should be a fully developed nation. The term developed nation is likely to create in the minds of people the western model of an industrialised nation with a high per capita income. What we would like to attain is not just income but a society which balances material gains with intellectual and moral values.

*Tabling the
Second Outline
Perspective
Plan (OPP2):
(1991-2000).
Kuala Lumpur,
June 17, 1991*

*Annual dinner
of Financial
Institutions.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 28,
1991*

*Tabling the
Outline
Perspective
Plan (OPP2)
(1991-2000).
Kuala Lumpur,
June 17, 1991*

The New Development Policy takes into account the needs of all Malaysians. There should be no fear or doubts in the minds of any ethnic group that they would lose. Malaysia is rich in resources and there is enough for everyone to gain from the process development. But it must be emphasised that if the Bumiputera gained more than others, this is because they begin with a lower base-line and more needs to be done for them to bring them up to the level of development of the other Malaysians. Only by doing this, can we be assured of political and social stability as well as national unity, a prerequisite for progress.

*Asia Society
Meeting.
New York,
September 25,
1991*

On the 1st of July this year, Malaysia launched its Second Outline Perspective Plan and the National Development Policy (NDP) covering a span of 10 years from 1991 to the year 2000. At the same time, we announced a framework vision to make Malaysia a developed country by the year 2020. Our concept of being developed does not simply focus on per capita income but on the quality of life and morality as well. The hedonistic materialism of present models is not for us. We hope the rest of the world will give us this freedom of choice and not harass us into conformity in the name of freedom. In implementing the NDP there will be a full mobilisation of all resources and utilisation of all the assets and skills of Malaysia's multi-racial society. In order to achieve the targets of the NDP and the attainment of developed nation status by 2020, an average growth of 7 per cent per annum is required. Such a rate of growth will result in doubling the output of goods and services in real terms every 10 years and would achieve a per capita income of RM17,000 by the year 2020.

In the 1970s and 1980s, my country was vilified and ridiculed for our New Economic Policy. This policy was aimed at eradicating poverty and restructuring our society so that we would not only have rapid growth but also income and ownership restructuring and greater social justice. We were constantly badgered and advised to give it up. We were constantly scolded even by people who were themselves busy redistributing wealth in forceful ways, for example by nationalisation or affirmative action.

We tinkered. We fine-tuned. We amended. We changed what did not work. We went fast track. We slowed down. And in the end, after it had achieved much of what we aimed for, we decided not to extend it but to formulate a slightly improved version which we called the National Development Policy.

Following the race riots of 1969 the Government therefore decided to address the disparities and integrate the races into the economic sphere. Thus was formulated the New Economic Policy (NEP) with the twin objectives of eradication of poverty irrespective of race and the restructuring of society in order to remove the identification of race with economic function. Malaysia suffered severe criticisms from many quarters over the New Economic Policy. The political leadership was labelled as racist and discriminatory. That the previous impartiality in the treatment of the different races had resulted in enhanced disparities

*Speech at the
1994 China
Summit Meeting,
Beijing,
May 11, 1994*

*Asia Society
meeting.
New York,
September 25,
1991*

and the race riots in 1969 were ignored. It would seem that equal treatment, even if it resulted in increased inequality, was more important than real equality between citizens. Yet society had long acknowledged the justice of taxing the rich in order to support the poor. The only difference is that in Malaysia, the poor happens also to be the indigenous people as a community. That the Government also subscribe to poverty eradication, irrespective of race, was dismissed as mere window-dressing and not worthy of consideration. The multi-racial partners in the Government stood fast together despite attacks at home and abroad and continued to implement the NEP. It was the most daring experiment in socio-economic engineering ever undertaken by a developing country. There was no precedence to fall back on. Mistakes were made, but with some innovations, startling results were achieved.

*International
Symposium,
KEIO University.
Tokyo,
November 10,
1983*

The NEP can be said to have changed the scene in Malaysia almost completely. No longer are the towns largely Chinese, and the kampungs largely Malays and other indigenous people, but more and more the urban areas are representative of population structure of the nation.

They can be our enemies today but our friends tomorrow. Maybe we cannot become friends at party level, but we certainly can become friends on individual basis.

On the need to be friendly with opposition party members.
Kota Bharu,
October 30,
1993



"Maybe we cannot become friends at party level, but we certainly can become friends on individual basis".
(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

*Expressing
sadness over the
death of two
Malaysian
soldiers serving
with the UN
peacekeeping
force in Somalia.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 19, 1994*

I am very sad, this should not have happened as Malaysia only wants to help and not fight with anybody. The Malaysian soldiers were sent there to safeguard peace and not to wage war with anyone but there seemed to be irresponsible groups which did not value Malaysia's efforts and had attacked the soldiers.

*On the role of
Malaysian
troops serving
in Bosnia
Herzegovina.
New Delhi,
December 15,
1993*

I am pessimistic of the situation in the Balkans, and sending of our troops is not going to make any difference they are not going to stop Serbs, they only want to send food to the people who are under siege. Even when they are confronted, they are told not to fight against the Serbs and when the Serbs know that no one is going to stop them, they will go ahead with massacres and rapes.

*On the need to
send peace
keeping force to
overseas duties
since the nation
would find it
difficult to
progress in the
absence of
global peace.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 26, 1993*

Chaos and mayhem will make it impossible for us to achieve the developed status. That is why when we are defending the others, we are actually defending ourselves.

Therefore, at a time when we are enjoying peace we have to help countries which are facing conflicts, more so those countries whose people are of the same religion and status as ours.

A peasant mentality and value system is incompatible with progress towards an industrialised society. The people will need to change their values and work ethics if we are to achieve our ambition to become a developed nation. An active programme for training the people in the required ethics has been launched. This sounds very much like thought-control or brainwashing. We know that left to themselves the people would probably adjust. But we do not have time to spare. Too many nations are ahead of us.

*On the need
to develop
competent
human resource
to achieve the
goals of the
National
Development
Policy.
Asia Society
Meeting.
New York,
September 25,
1991*

*On instigation
of Penans
in Sarawak
by outside
elements.
Kuching,
August 24,
1992*

That which can obstruct development and fair distribution of wealth is the view spread by foreigners that traditional life in the jungle is much better than modern living. They wish to see Sarawak remain in the Stone Age so that the various races in the state will be museum pieces from the archaeological age and be the subject of study for their anthropology thesis.

*Official
opening of the
Second
Ministerial
Conference of
Developing
Countries on
Environment
and
Development.
Kuala Lumpur,
April 26, 1992*

When the anti-tropical timber campaign did not attract sufficient attention, a human face was added to it. The Penans are a gentle law-abiding people numbering about ten thousand. They were originally shifting cultivators and hunters. But some nine thousand of them have already settled down on permanent farms or as wage-earners. Only one thousand are still in the jungle. If they should choose to stay in the forests, it is a choice which the government will respect but this choice must be well considered. This choice must not be a part of the North's anti-tropical timber campaign.

The anti-tropical timber activists see in the Penans an opportunity to put a human face to their campaign for temperate timber. And so the gentle Penans are urged to be militant, to protest, to erect blockades, and defy the authorities.

Stop making an issue of the Penans.

It is obvious that the future of the petroleum industry is very much linked to prices. When you talk of the possibility of increasing demands, you are hoping that prices can be jacked up and more profits made. I think that is the wrong frame of mind. If profits are to be made it must come from increased volume rather than prices.

As a Government leader my interest is more in the general well-being of the country than in the petroleum industry as such. Even though Malaysia exports petroleum we see it only in the context of our overall economy. We like the money we earn from petroleum. But if price increases result in costlier imports, then we would rather stick to a steady and comfortable income.

*Opening of 3rd
ASEAN Council
of Petroleum
Conference and
Exhibition.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 2,
1985*

*First National
Conference on
National
Security
organised by
the Institute of
Strategic and
International
Studies.*

*Kuala Lumpur,
July 15, 1986*

The role of the police has certainly expanded beyond that of dealing with common crimes. Demonstrations and riots and the detection of early evidence of civil disorder now occupy much of the time and manpower of the police. Riot squads, special forces and bomb detection and disposal have to be updated all the time to keep pace with the sophistication of the politicised criminals and terrorists. Such is the role of the police that it becomes more and more difficult to distinguish them from the military.



"This is no place for prima donnas in government. What we must have are people who are efficient, skilled, willingness to put self behind party and nation, and readiness to put duty and country above all else".

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

We are prepared to give asylum to people on condition they do not use Malaysia as a base to act against their countries.

We are not a place to be used as a base for any revolution.

*On why former
Cambodian
Deputy Prime
Minister Prince
Norodom
Chakrapong
should leave
Malaysia where
he sought asylum
after an abortive
coup in Phnom
Penh on July 3.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 5, 1994*

*Assuring US
businessmen
that there
would not be
any change in
Malaysia's
political
system or
ideology when
the time came
for changes in
leadership.
US-Asean
Council Dinner.
New York,
October 1,
1993*

When the time comes that there should be a change, I'm sure that change would not disrupt the even progress in the country.

Malaysia, ruled by the same party since independence, had four different Prime Ministers, including myself, and the changes have taken place without undue problem or disruptions.

So don't worry about political change we'll have leaders who will continue to accommodate foreign investors.

Imagine what will happen if there is no stability because of changes in Government everytime a general election is held.

Not only will the Government policies be changed halfway, the political situation in the country may not even be stable. This can be seen in several countries where there are changes in the government and its policies each time an election is held.

As businessmen you must know the importance of stability, especially in developing countries where politicians tend to play a very big role. Political stability begets consistent policies, including economic policies. Nothing is more frustrating and unproductive, and policies changed with the accession of each new Government. When the same party is endorsed by the people again and again, policies continue; they don't take a 90° or 180° turn and you feel comfortable.

*At the opening
of Parti
Gerakan 23rd
Delegates
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 30, 1994*

*E.M.F.
Foundation
Roundtable on
Malaysia.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 3,
1986*

*On qualities
needed to enter
politics. Speaking
to Malaysian
students in
Bloomington,
Indiana US,
May 9, 1994*

One must have plenty of patience, must work hard and must like people. It took me 19 years to be picked as a candidate for the post of MP and 30 years to become a minister. But it's pity that there is only one vacancy for prime minister.

*Referring to
Malaysian
politics at
speech at 1994
China Summit
Meeting,
Beijing,
May 11, 1994.*

We do not have constant ultra-combative, confrontationist politics. There has always been a strong consensual impulse.

*Opening speech
at the 3rd
Congress of
Angkatan
Keadilan Rakyat
(AKAR).
Kota Kinabalu,
July 23, 1994*

In politics, one can get derailed if one is not able to take care of oneself. But the fallen can rise again. I was once sacked (from Umno) and was able to return.

*Opening
UMNO General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 4,
1993*

I will accept whatever party decision on me when the time comes, today it is the turn of others, tomorrow it may be my turn such is the nature of politics.

Throughout all these it is important to remember that the population is increasing rapidly.

With a 2.4 per cent growth, there will be some 450,000 more mouths to feed every year.

This alone can result in deterioration of living standards unless economic growth outstrips population growth.

It is a matter of satisfaction and pride for Malaysia to be able to actually improve per capita income as well as living standards despite rapid population growth.

By 1995 the population of Malaysia is expected to reach 20.3 million.

The Government would like to correct the wrong impression that we must actively promote population increases.

The 70 million target is to be achieved in the year 2100.

At present rates we will reach 70 million by 2050, 50 years before the target date. There is no necessity for people to hurry.

*Tabling the Sixth
Malaysia Plan
(1991-1995)
Parliament
House.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 10, 1991*

*Opening the
8th Malaysian
Law
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 14,
1985*

Of late new centres of power have erupted. Pressure groups of one kind or another have emerged which not only challenge the existing authorities but arrogate to themselves powers that are not legitimately theirs. If nothing else the disruptive capacities of these pressure groups are quite considerable

If a democracy is to survive, the limits of the freedoms granted must be observed judiciously. The division and the balance of power between the legislative, the executive and the judiciary must be observed. Free speech and a free press do not mean unlimited licence. Minorities too do not have limited rights. Pressure groups must know when to stop.

If these are understood and observed then democracy will survive. If irresponsible challenges directed at duly constituted authority leads to continuous and harmful disruptions, then democracy would be endangered. Once democracy is destroyed, its restoration will be very costly indeed for society. Indeed it may never be fully restored.

In fact, in the history of our development, our economic growth has always been achieved within the context of price stability. This reflects to a large extent the continuous success of our efforts to maintain price stability through effective monetary, fiscal and administrative measures.

It is also attributable to the wise spending habits of our people.

*Tabling the Sixth
Malaysia Plan
(1991-1995)
Parliament.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 10 , 1991*

*Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

If you want to be the private sector, then work on your own, don't ask the Government. We can give guidance, strategies, but the rest is up to you.

We want to help. To me the Government also serves as an extension of the private sector. It is not the total Japanese incorporated concept but something near that which should be achieved by Malaysia, a partnership between the private sector and the public sector in order to promote the growth of the economy of this country.

This has actively been told to all Cabinet Ministers and State Governments - that it is their duty to help the private sector do well because we are all partners. I keep on reminding Government officials that the private sector is our partner - they make the profits and we tax them. It's as simple as that.

*Opening the
Pacific Rim
Business
Collaboration
Symposium.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 6,
1993*

The private sector is the main engine of growth for the Malaysian economy. Together with the government's proactive and sound macro-economic principles and programmes, the concept of Malaysia Incorporated and privatisation, we have been able to accelerate growth, reduce our foreign debts, deregulate and assist the private sector to expand their role.

The private sector must understand national policies, objectives and procedures in order to facilitate their dealings with the Government. They must appreciate that regulations and procedures are not made to frustrate them, but are in fact a means of ensuring orderliness in commerce and industry. If these are unduly obstructive, they can be modified by proper use of channels of communication between the Government and the people. They must also appreciate the need for courtesy.

*Seminar on
"Framework
for Malaysia
Incorporated and
Privatisation
towards National
Productivity".
Kuala Lumpur,
October 10,
1983*

The private sector-led growth strategy which has provided the winning formula in boosting the growth of the Malaysian economy will be continued so as to provide the major strength in the acceleration of economic activities in the years ahead. This strategy will necessitate the sector to further enhance and develop its production capacity and efficiency, improve its product quality as well as strengthen its marketing efforts.

*Tabling the mid
term review of
the 6th Malaysia
Plan, Parliament
House.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 16,
1993*

Tabling the mid term review of the 6th Malaysia Plan, Parliament House. Kuala Lumpur, December 16, 1993

We can be proud of our achievements in the privatisation efforts as Malaysia is one of the few nations in the world where privatisation has been successfully implemented to cover a wide range of activities - from infrastructure and utility projects to roads, ports and urban transportation.

Privatisation ala Malaysia has also included corporatisation of government departments and agencies as well as the management buy-out of government companies. The privatisation approach adopted, such as for new infrastructure and utility projects, is itself unique to the Malaysian experience.

In addition, privatisation has enabled the public sector to save some RM4.8 billion in operating expenditure and another RM37.7 billion in capital expenditure. Proceeds from the sale of government equity and assets to the private sector amounted to another RM8.6 billion. There is no doubt that the privatisation exercise has helped in balancing the Government's budget.

Privatisation has also been an important corner-stone of our national development as it has brought about, specifically, greater efficiency and productivity gains through increased competition and innovations in the provision of several new services. Its impact on the local capital market has been equally impressive. To date, 15 privatised companies have been listed on the KLSE which accounted for a quarter of the total market capitalisation as at November 1993.

Part of text of memorandum to senior government officials. Kuala Lumpur, August, 1983

Privatisation means the opposite of nationalisation. The objective of nationalisation is for government to take over the ownership of private enterprises, while privatisation means the transfer of government services and enterprises to the private sector.

Normally, companies and services owned and managed by the Government have been less successful or have run at a loss because the government's management methods differ greatly from those of the private sector.

On the other hand, private businesses and enterprises are usually profitable. Profit-making private businesses are required to pay taxes amounting to 40-50% of total profit.

If government enterprises are transferred to the private sector, the Government will not lose its source of income. 40-50% of this income will continue to be received by the Government. This is better than for the Government to own businesses and enterprises which constantly run at a loss, thus becoming a liability not only to the Government, but also indirectly to the people.

Usually, the Government operates certain services. In Malaysia, postal and telecommunications services, radio and television, railways, shipping and aviation, airports, hospitals and clinics, ports, educational institutions, roads and other public utilities are state owned. Besides that, the central and local Governments have ventured into various businesses and enterprises, either as a monopoly or as a shareholder. The trend towards increasing Government participation in business, has led to competition with the private sector. Due to its power, the Government can easily dominate private businesses and enterprises. However, since Government businesses usually lose, not only does the Government not receive income from its businesses, the Government will also lose tax revenue which would normally be collected from successful businesses.

The privatisation process can be carried out in steps following detailed study. Permanent changes will bring out temporary chaos and confusion. However, if carried out carefully, this situation of confusion will not last long.

*On the need to
evaluate the
government's
responsibility
towards
providing
public services
and the need to
relieve itself of
some burden.
Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

We want to examine all the things that we are doing now, to see whether it is worthwhile doing it or not, whether we are doing it because traditionally we have been doing it. Among the things we have examined are the responsibilities of Government to provide certain services for the country. We know full well that some of these services in other countries are provided by the private sector and provided efficiently. So is there any reason why we shouldn't follow? -

..... There is no area left unscrutinised. We are examining to find out what it is that the Government should do and what it is that the public should do and whether the Government could do it more efficiently or the public could do it more efficiently.

Generally speaking, public administration is concerned with the co-ordination of individual and group efforts to carry out public policies; it is mainly occupied with the routine work of Government. Public administration requires a structured system of roles and functional relationships designed to carry out programmes inspired by such policies. The organisation of the Government, therefore, seeks a pattern of skills, responsibilities and authority that will permit co-ordination and unity of purpose through supervision. Governmental organisation under our parliamentary democracy must work to the will and direction of the party in power. This will and direction is, in fact, the platform upon which the party in power is elected and therefore reflects the aspirations and expectations of the majority of the people. To fulfill the people's desire, we obviously need an efficient and effective public administration and this is precisely what the Government is constantly trying to achieve.

*Fellowship
dinner of the
Institute of
Management
Consultants.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 7,
1984*

*Seminar on
"Malaysia
Incorporated".
Kuala Lumpur,
August 18,
1983*

They should not regard the private sector people as an adversary or competitors who are out to cheat, to demand and to by-pass policies and requirements, but as partners, who will need all the advice, help and guidance, and for whom time and opportunities are of the essence. For the private sector people, they should not regard the civil servants as the people who are out to make their lives miserable, waiting to be buttered and so on. The two must shed their prejudices, and see in a clear and objective light, the necessity for ensuring success and better performance of both the sectors. What it should do is to make the public and private sectors work as a team, not only in the fulfillment of the various Government policies, but also to the mutual benefit of both and the overall success of Malaysia as a nation and of Malaysians everywhere.

It is well-known that class disparity often leads to serious confrontation. Indeed it is class division that gave rise to communist and socialist ideologies and the bloody revolutions in many European and Eastern countries. But when you have in addition to class differences, a complementary and reinforcing racial difference, then the potential for conflicts and clashes would be even greater. And, of course, differences and class cum racial tensions do not contribute to a smooth economic growth.

In the case of Malaysia the first step that was taken was to eliminate the identification of race with economic function. This means that conscious efforts have to be made to ensure that all levels have proportionate representation by all races. In other words, there should be as many Malays and Indians in the urban centres as there are Chinese. The races must be thoroughly and evenly mixed. Economic prosperity in particular should not be confined to one race only.

*International
Symposium,
KEIO University,
Tokyo,
November 10,
1983*

*Kota Bharu,
July 26, 1993*

We do not oppress the Chinese, Indians and other communities while giving priority to the Malays we distribute the wealth to all.

There are countries with multi-racial and multi-religious populations which could not enjoy peace.

Most of these countries faced racial problems which resulted in riots and civil war. In some countries, oppression of the people based on race and religion was rampant.

But in Malaysia, we enjoy peace and many non-Malays live in Malay areas without fear

..... If we administer the country well without racial problems, development will continue.

*National Day
message.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 30,
1993*

If we do not have restrictions on racial politics, racial tension and riots will occur and this is bound to affect the country's stability and progress.

The racial and religious conflicts in other countries where many lives are lost, and homes and belongings destroyed have surely made our people more aware of how important it is to maintain unity among the races.

*Kuala Lumpur,
June 4, 1994*

Our belief is that if everybody is not satisfied, then we are doing well. If you find any one group totally satisfied, then we are being unfair.

*On maintaining
unity through a
balanced
management of
Malaysia's
diverse races.
Kuala Lumpur,
December, 1992*

But Malaysia is a tolerant country and the preservation of the root cultures of the people have not caused the kind of schism that is seen in many other multi-racial countries. Except for the one race riot in 1969, the different races in Malaysia have lived in relative harmony. It would be hypocritical to say that race relations in Malaysia is ideal. But by comparison we are more able to live together than in many other multi-racial communities in the East or the South or the West. Certainly we do not have the continuous violent conflicts and rebellions that characterise some countries where the population is multi-racial.

*International
Chinese
Newspapers
Convention.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 10
1990*

*On the
government's
priorities while
going through
recession.
Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

Now it is our belief that this recession will not last forever, that the time will come when the recession is over and recovery will be on and it is important that we look towards this phase and prepare for it. In other words, we must not abandon projects which are supposed to come onstream during a state of the economy that is better. That is why we continue with our heavy industries programme and provision for infrastructure development. These are things that will come onstream only in three to four years' time when we expect recovery to take place. So although they may not seem so essential at the moment, they will be so soon enough.

Muslim and non - Muslim must be sensitive to each other's sensitivities.

*Conference on
Islam and
tolerance.
Kota Kinabalu,
March 24,
1994*

We're trying to spread this idea of tolerance to as many people as possible so that if somebody dies the idea doesn't die but will go on. What he can do while he is around is to try to implant ideas and philosophies in as many people as possible. This is what we are doing in the government today.

We try to govern according to a certain understanding and belief so that even if the person is not there, the idea is there.

I don't think Malaysians would worry about this.

*On whether
existing religious
tolerance in the
country would
be maintained or
would his
successors
interpret Islamic
principles
differently and
adopt a narrow
restrictive view.
Dialogue session
during seminar
of "The Role of
Religion in
Society".
Kuala Lumpur,
September 14,
1993*

*Talk on
"Investment
Opportunities
in Malaysia for
Mid-America
Corporations".
Chicago,
October 11,
1984*

I would also like to stress the importance of developing an indigenous R & D base as a necessary pre-requisite for successful assimilation of technology from the industrialised and developed countries. In the absence of such a base, I strongly believe that imported technologies cannot be effectively utilised, adapted and improved to suit the requirements of developing countries.

*International
Symposium on
Technology,
Culture and
Development,
University of
Malaya.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 12,
1983*

I would emphasise that while some 'R' and a little D' may have to be imported all the time, there is no real substitute for sustained R & D at home. In a world dominated by national self-interest, it would be naive to expect any country to carry out R & D for the benefit of another country. We must carry out our own R & D to meet our own needs. Any work done by other countries should be regarded as a bonus which may not be depended upon as a reliable source. I do agree that research always seems to be rather expensive. And, good research must be terribly expensive. Yet, if we are to succeed in development, we must invest substantial resources in research.

An important development which the Government will be giving greater focus is with respect to reverse investment. The Government strongly believes that reverse investment will provide added opportunities for growing dynamism of our private sector in meeting the challenges of a more competitive global environment and to take advantage of new technologies, changing markets as well as the rapid movement in international capital.

Reverse investments will also enable our private entrepreneurs to make inroads and diversify into international markets and perhaps utilise their competitive advantage in some industries by relocating their production activities overseas, thus further internationalising their production operations. To ensure the proper promotion of reverse investment as well as to maximise the benefits to the nation therefrom, the Government will issue guidelines for the promotion of reverse investment.

Tabling the mid term review of the 6th Malaysia Plan, Parliament House. Kuala Lumpur, December 16, 1994

*Tabling the
Constitution
Amendment
Bill 1993.
Parliament,
March 8, 1993*

The Rulers were never above the law. When the Federation of Malaya was formed in 1957, the Rulers had officially signed the Federation of Malaya Agreement and accepted the foundation of the law - the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya - which determined their position, status and function.

The acceptance of these laws meant that everyone is bound by the law. The question of the Rulers being above the law does not exist and never existed.

What existed in the constitution at that time was that the Rulers could not be taken to court. It did not mean that if they could not be brought to court, they were exempted from the provisions of the law.

The fact they could not be brought to court was also a provision of the law.

If this is considered a privilege of the Rulers, then this privilege is retained in the amendments proposed by the Conference of Rulers.

*Parliament
House.
January 20,
1993*

The Bill seeks to remove the legal immunity of the Malay Rulers, limit their power of pardon and allow Members of Parliament and state legislative assemblies to discuss matters pertaining to the rulers so long as they do not advocate for the abolition of the country's constitutional monarchy. Since the Rulers are sticking to the rule of law instead of the spirit of the law (over the constitution amendment issue), the Government will do the same.

As such, all facilities and privileges accorded them but are not contained in provisions for Rulers, I feel we cannot entertain. Whatever extra perks given in the past will be withdrawn.

Before the people toppled the Rulers and the monarchy system as has already happened in several countries, the government had to act quickly to save the monarchy system through constitution amendments to place the Rulers in the rightful place.

*Addressing
Malaysian
students in
Karachi.
February 18,
1992*

The law only states that they cannot be charged in court. There is no such provision that the Rulers can assault people or threaten the rakyat. The Rulers do not have the right to assault, cheat or refuse to pay loans taken.

*Kuala Lumpur,
January 26,
1993*

On the long drawn territorial claim on Sabah by the Philippines.

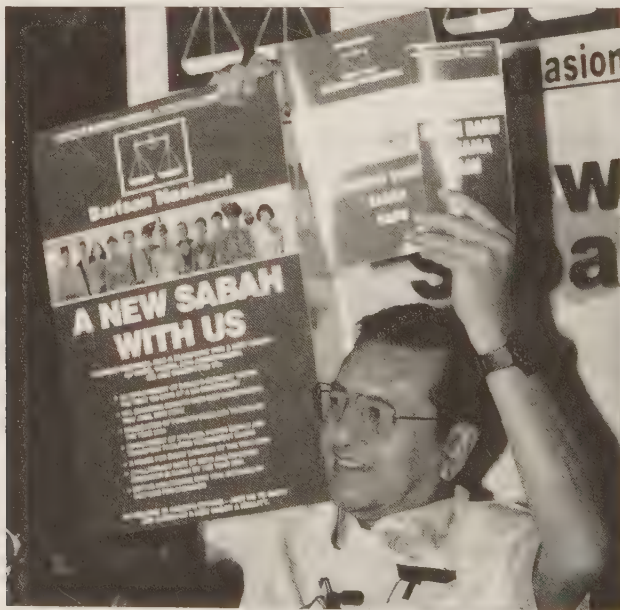
Dialogue session during international conference on "Malaysia Powerhouse of the 90s".

Kuala Lumpur, November 15, 1993

We realise that the successive governments in the Philippines would like to settle the problem but the structure of Philippines politics is such that it is difficult for any government to take any step to get rid of the problem.

As we realised that it is not the government but various interest in the Philippines which is creating this problem, we feel that it is not worthwhile for us to take it out on the (Philippines') government.

I don't think the Philippines is going to war with us over Sabah.



"When a state administration only concentrates on state interests without taking into account national interests, the net result will be a loss to the people in that particular state".

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

Malaysians on their part, will have to further harness their saving propensity and restrain from expending on conspicuous consumption. Such habits will also have to be cultivated and nurtured among the young who will become the savers of tomorrow. We must not fall into the trap, as some countries have, of becoming a consumption-oriented society when income levels increased.

Tabling the mid term review of the 6th Malaysia Plan, Parliament House. Kuala Lumpur, December 16, 1993

With the low Malaysian inflation rate and reasonable interest, it pays to save. Additionally savings tend to reduce inflationary pressures, Malaysians are really helping themselves when they save.

Tabling the Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991-1995) Parliament House. Kuala Lumpur, July 10, 1991

*First ASEAN
SCIENCE &
TECHNOLOGY
WEEK.*

*Kuala Lumpur,
April 24, 1986*

We cannot go back to invent the wheel. We have to leap-frog and go straight into more modern science and technology. Here we have to learn from the advanced countries. The basics are easily available but when science and technology are needed to improve our productive capacities we will need help

..... If we are going to get anywhere in the acquisition of technology we must prepare ourselves fully and go after what we want. Beginning with the basics that we can acquire fairly easily, we have to do our own research and development.

*National
Science Forum
Universiti
Pertanian.
Kuala Lumpur,
May 10, 1983*

Science - both hard and soft sciences - are not optimally utilized for the exclusive good of man; its norms of humanity. Moral decadence, brutality and social upheavals, military and oppression are manifestations of some dysfunctional effects of science on modern day generation. Not that science is bad, but some people who apply it lack humanity at heart. If there is misuse or abuse, it is the society, and more specifically the individuals in the society. We should not place the blame on science. The pursuit of science must go on, and even at a greater pace but serious considerations must be given to enable science to be utilized for the greater good of men and humanity. It is an area within the realm of conscience

Science does not just serve human curiosity but more importantly it is to serve his needs. We cannot deny that the world is shaped by technology and that the successful application of science has resulted in technological breakthrough as well as in the production of trained and competent manpower for national development. Science is "know - why"

while technology is “know-how”. In other words, science produces knowledge while technology helps in the production of wealth. Science without the by-play of technology becomes sterile, and technology without science becomes moribund

In the process of utilizing science and technology for development, we must make the best use of our national scientific and technological potential, in a two-way interaction with economic and social planning. We need to strengthen the supporting service activities, and raising the general level of productive competence. We need to make the best use of imported technology while at the same time generate appropriate indigenous ones. This requires attention both to the mechanism for the transfer of technology, and to the propagating of our own scientific and technological competence. In other words, we need a balanced distribution of scientific and technological personnel besides an adequate supply of managerial and entrepreneurial talents.

No technology is too dear if the resulting outflow of economic benefits exceeds its aggregate real cost. On the other hand, no technology is too cheap if it involves a seemingly unending entanglement with servicing costs and inventories that ultimately impoverishes the recipient and render it more and more dependent. There is an old proverb- “Beware of Greeks bearing gifts”. I believe this refers to the story of the Trojan Horse. There is a significant precept here for all the newly-developing countries.

*International
Symposium on
Technology,
Culture and
Development,
University of
Malaya.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 12,
1983*

*National
Conference on
"Securities
Industry in
Malaysia".
Kuala Lumpur,
April 28, 1984*

There is only a thin line drawn between 'speculation' and 'gambling'. In addition the industry lends itself to unlimited manipulation. Insider trading, rumour-mongering, and a host of other factors can influence the behaviour of the market. The appointment of governing bodies, the formulation of rules and laws by themselves are not adequate. It needs but one rogue elephant to bring the whole structure to shambles. Yet if funds are to be fully utilised for national development there must be a proper securities industry. The Government has been stressing the need for good work ethics. Nowhere is such ethics more important than in the securities industry The slogan of the Government is "Bersih, Cekap dan Amanah". I would like to stress the Amanah or Trustworthy part of that slogan. The securities industry needs that trustworthiness. You cannot function without it. So police yourself and rid yourself of doubtful characters. Do not be afraid to act. The Government will back you.

Alone Malaysia has little chance of defending itself against a more powerful enemy in a conventional war. But the Malaysian security forces are capable of bloodying the nose of anyone who tries to attack this country.

*First National
Conference on
National
Security
organised by
the Institute of
Strategic and
International
Studies.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 15, 1986*



*“Science without the byplay of technology becomes
sterile, and technology without science becomes
moribund”*

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

*World Economic
Forum meeting.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 6,
1989*

In developing its services sector, Malaysia will not protect the inefficient activities. And if the liberalisation of services will yield clear net social and economic benefits, Malaysia will go along with it.

*Ninth
Convention of
Persatuan
Ekonomi
Malaysia.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 17,
1987*

If you must speculate, do so on a reasonable scale. There must be some relationship between prices and the performance of the enterprises. Computers should not totally displace humans in the buying and selling of shares. The old study and probe into the basic foundations of the companies must return as the basis for decisions to sell or buy. If there must be speculation, it should be sane and healthy.

The extensive utilisation of foreign shipping to carry our own domestic products for exports is undesirable as this would exacerbate our growing freight and insurance bill, the so-called invisibles.

In this context, I would like to see more Malaysians venturing into the field of international shipping. They should not be content operating always in the relatively sheltered domestic sector where they are protected from competition from foreign shipping lines by our cabotage policy. They should treat participation in domestic shipping as a valuable learning experience from which they should aspire to graduate into the more challenging and competitive arena of international shipping.

For this purpose the small and low capitalised domestic shipping companies should consider merging or form consortiums with other companies, local or foreign for greater efficiency and in order to operate viably.

There is no reason why Malaysians should not succeed in shipping. We have a maritime tradition and our training facilities are capable of producing competent and properly trained seamen who meet the standards set by the International Maritime Organisation. These facilities can be expanded to cater to the increasing demand for trained seamen not only in Malaysia but also in the region.

We also have shipyards to build and repair ships. It is true that currently our shipyards do not have the capacity or expertise to build very large or sophisticated ships. Many of our shipyards limit themselves to the construction of small riverine or coastal ships of relatively simple design. However, I believe that we can upgrade our ship-building skills and capacity.

*Naming
ceremony of
MISC's
container ship
"Bunga Pelangi".
Ulsan,
South Korea,
December 28,
1991*

Tabling the mid term review of the 6th Malaysia Plan, Parliament House, Kuala Lumpur, December 16, 1993

The development of small and medium-scale industries will be promoted as they play an important role not only in strengthening industrial linkages and generating exports but also as a spawning group for future entrepreneurs.

The Government is fully committed to their healthy and robust development and will devise appropriate measures and assistance to ensure their viable existence.



Our workers are highly motivated, trainable and eager to learn while their positive work culture, ethics and attitudes have resulted in industries being cost effective and efficient.

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

We should feel indebted to society because we are only the guardians of the property and the wealth we own.

*At a function for
handicapped
artists.*

*Kuala Lumpur,
May 26, 1994*

We believe in establishing a fully caring and sharing society, one that is ferociously dynamic but not rapacious. We want a society with a human face and a big human heart.

*Conference on
Vision 2020.*

*Kuala Lumpur,
December 12,
1993*

Malaysians must cultivate a sense of responsibility to build a loving and caring society. We must build a society with an identity of its own by recognising the importance of family values.

*Speech at the
screening of
"Jeritan
Batinku", a
movie on child
abuse.*

*Kuala Lumpur,
August 12, 1994*

*Tabling the
Second Outline
Perspective Plan
(1991 - 2000)
Parliament
House.
Kuala Lumpur,
17 June, 1991*

The racial riots of 1969 shocked us into realising the political and social imperatives of addressing and resolving the twin problems of poverty and racial, socio-economic imbalances facing the nation at that time. Since the new generation of Malaysians are generally not aware of the events in 1969, it is necessary to remind them and also ourselves that in a multi - racial society like ours the existence of socio-economic imbalances along racial lines is not conducive to stability or national unity. Accordingly, efforts to perpetuate socio-economic imbalances along racial lines will only lead to instability and disunity in the country

Looking at the total picture, however, there is no denying that despite the shortfalls and weaknesses, great strides have been made to achieve both growth and equity in our development and achievements, making Malaysia a unique model among developing countries. There is hardly any multi - racial country in the developing world which has been able to carry out this experiment in socio-economic engineering successfully, without disrupting and reducing or even negating economic growth.

Usually if wealth is redistributed, economic growth is retarded. If on the other hand, economic growth is given priority, then the inequities in society will be accentuated. We can be justly proud that through the NEP, we have been able to make the employment and ownership structure in this country more multi-ethnic and to reduce poverty without sacrificing economic growth. Indeed, our economic growth actually outstripped those of other countries not undergoing restructuring. And all these are achieved in the context of a democratic system with peace and stability prevailing.

As I indicated earlier on, there is much we can learn from the Japanese business experience: from why Japan is Number One today. As I see it, the important lesson to be learnt is that, to be truly successful, it is not enough for a nation to be naturally well endowed with rich resources or to have the capacity or capability to produce goods, be they raw materials or manufactures. Our Japanese friends have shown us that the effective packaging and marketing of these products at competitive prices are vitally important. I think it is this extra quality coupled with hard work, that has made the Japanese “sogoshosha” so very successful.

I realise, of course, that the success story of the Japanese sogoshosha is embedded deep in history and tradition, and reflects the very essence of the Japanese business way of life. It must not be forgotten that the Japanese “sogoshosha” is unique and it will be a disaster for anyone to imitate it wholesale.

*5th Joint
Annual
Conference of
MAJECA /
JAMECA.
Kuala Lumpur,
February 8,
1982*

On whether the quality of Malaysian workers can lead to technological advancement and enable the nation to compete strongly with advanced countries.

Interviewed on "With the Prime Minister" TV 1 programme.

Kuala Lumpur, June 16, 1993

It is not impossible for Malaysia to build rockets for space travel one day. Those building rockets now were not extraordinary but just human beings with much more experience than Malaysians.

About 100 years ago, even they were only as capable as people who were not highly civilised.



If we strive hard, it is not impossible for us to acquire the technology to build spacecrafts or rockets.

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

Our people fully support sports because we believe that sports is a strong unifying factor, especially important in a multiracial, multilingual, multicultural and multireligious country like ours. If you have a chance to visit our countryside you will see that we have football fields and other sporting facilities in almost all our towns and villages. This is indeed the basis of our sports policy because we feel through sports we can create a united and healthy nation.

*Launching of
the 1998
Commonwealth
Games Fund.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 10,
1991*

My remarks on the move towards getting away from the subsidy - mentality, therefore, are as applicable to industrialists and businessmen as they are to farmers. We have to lessen sharply this pervasive and entrenched behavioural pattern of requesting for a variety of incentives and subsidies before any move is made towards a new venture. A substantial portion of the nation's wealth cannot be continually utilised to prop and protect, indefinitely, inefficient industries, and those which have no potentials for sustained growth in the future.

*Speaking at
conference on
"National
Economic
Development"
organised by
Malaysia
Chamber of
Commerce and
Industry.
Kuala Lumpur,
May 18, 1984*

Expressing dissatisfaction over the lack of efforts to acquire speedier transfer of technology to Malaysia. Press conference at the end of official visit to France. St. Nazaire, France, July 10, 1994

Malaysia's efforts in acquiring new and sophisticated technologies will come to naught if the people are not keen to learn them.

This will in turn retard the nation's progress and slow down the process of transforming Malaysians into a respectable and progressive race.

For a technology transfer to be possible, two sides must be involved - that making the offer of the technology and that accepting the offer.

While we keep on saying that people must transfer their technologies to us, such a transfer can never happen if our people are not interested in them.

There is nothing difficult or magical about these technologies. If only we have deep interest in them and make efforts to acquire them, we will be able to make it. If we strive hard, it is not impossible for us to acquire the technology to build spacecraft or rockets.

Those who can afford expensive and more sophisticated technologies can invest in them but those who don't have large capital can go for the cheap ones.

Basically a transfer of technology is like the acceptance of a fishing rod in order to get food instead of getting the food itself when that is what is asked for. Few would have the patience to go fishing when hungry. Similarly the passive society would not want to learn to make an electric fan when it is hot. It is easier to buy or be given an electric fan. This is a simplistic analogy of the cultural resistance involved in the transfer of technology but nevertheless it is an apt analogy.

The point that is being made is that before technology can be successfully transferred or while it is being transferred, the cultural resistance must be overcome. This can only be done if there is an understanding of the culture of the transferee community, or better still the differences of the cultures of the transferors and the transferees. If there is this understanding and the right allowances or preparations made, the transfer of technology will succeed. If culture is ignored, there will be resistance and failure or insignificant success at best

..... Developing countries have to be careful not to acquire obsolete technology which some advanced countries may wish to dump on them. In finding a fair and reasonable price for purchased technology, a third world country has to take into account not only what it must pay the supplier, but also the whole of the real costs involved in adopting the technology and training local manpower to operate it.

*International
Symposium on
Technology,
Culture and
Development,
University of
Malaya.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 12,
1983*

*Seminar on
Malaysian -
British Invisible
Trade Link.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 17, 1984*

Compared with the ASEAN countries, Malaysia has yet to exploit its full potential for tourism - not just from overseas travellers, but from Malaysian travellers as well as through import substitution, thereby saving valuable foreign exchange. To approach this vast area effectively, much planning and original work will need to be undertaken at a national level to ensure that the two-edged sword of tourism is promoted systematically and purposefully, consistent with the preservation of national values and the nation's cultural heritage.

*Official
opening of the
PATA
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
April 14, 1986*

We agree that nothing is more beautiful than to see a full - moon shining on an attap hut with swaying coconut trees. But for the man who at that very moment is sweating and swatting mosquitoes and trying to sleep, the beauty of the scene is lost. He would rather have a brick and mortar terrace house, electricity and piped water and other modern conveniences. And these he will have a chance to have if he can earn something from tourism or at least when the country is enriched by tourism.

Tourism is not 100% good, of course. Bad values and ways of life do spread as more people are able to travel. There is always a price to pay. Nothing in this world is free. But the benefits tourism brings to poor countries far outweighs the negative aspects of tourism. A country must know how to minimise the deleterious effects of tourism. If the country needs advice on how to do this, such advice can be given. But no country should be protected from tourists by well-intentioned groups unless some alternatives that can contribute towards development can be given.

We would be foolish if we of the Pacific get together in order to circle our wagons, to raise the barricades and to keep everyone else out.

We have seen the bankruptcy of the central command economy. On the other hand, we have seen what can be done when markets are opened and liberated and when goods and services are freed to respond to the commands of the marketplace rather than the specific targets and dictates of bureaucrats, planners and politicians.

Differences in the rate of productivity growth among and between the leading industrial countries and the rapidly industrialising economies as well as the unwillingness of industrial countries to move away from industries in which they are no longer competitive, have led to a rise in trade protectionism among some of our traditional trading partners. Recent trends toward bilateralism and regionalism, particularly among the major industrial countries, and the current problems faced by the Uruguay Round of GATT negotiations also threaten the open multilateral character of the global trading environment and can result in a more difficult trading environment in the future. On the positive side, there is an increasing trend towards policy reforms to liberalise and deregulate and to place greater reliance on the private sector and the market forces to direct the allocation of resources. These developments will result in improvements in the efficiency of the world economy as a whole and can contribute toward the expansion of world trade. As an open economy we will benefit from this.

*Keynote address
at 27th
International
General Meeting
of Pacific Basin
Economic
Council (PBEC).
Kuala Lumpur,
May 23, 1994*

*Tabling the Sixth
Malaysia Plan
(1991-1995)
Parliament
House.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 10, 1991*

Referring to unequal trade relations between Japan and Malaysia and Japanese propensity in viewing Malaysia only as a primary producer.
Kuala Lumpur,
July, 1985

We cannot and will not remain hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Addressing Thai businessmen.
Bangkok,
August 20, 1993

Countries within the region and within the south should open their markets and allow access for each other's goods. Liberalisation would remove market inefficiencies and promote greater economic activities and ultimately bring growth and development.

While efforts are being pursued to ensure the rich markets of the North remained open, countries in the region should also strive for greater economic co-operation by first liberalising their economies.

On Malaysian's liberal economic policies. Opening the Pacific Rim Business Collaboration Symposium.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 6, 1993

Our policies will remain consistent, predictable and transparent.

International Conference on "Malaysia: Powerhouse of the Nineties".
Kuala Lumpur,
November 15,
1993

It is recognised that success also carries a cost, and creates problems and issues of its own. Where these involve the domestic economy, they are not impossible to manage. But external problems do not lend themselves to easy solutions. Wherever adjustments have to be made in order to accommodate international demands, they will be made. But at the same time Malaysia must participate fully in the search for a more equitable and open world trading regime. An aggressive and high profile in international trade affairs for Malaysia is therefore unavoidable.

Trade unions are important as without them workers will be easily exploited by their employers. However a trade union should not be used as a tool to strike every day so that production comes to a halt, the quality of goods is not guaranteed, their prices go up unreasonably high compared with prices of goods produced by other countries.

*"The meaning
of Vision 2020".
Seremban,
May 28, 1991*

I would like to say a few special words to the Trade Unions. You are the accredited representatives of the workers and your main responsibility is to promote the well-being and look after the interests of your members. I suggest to you that one of the best ways of doing this is to collaborate with the government and with managements in promoting all-round development. I am quite sure that you will receive a warm welcome if you can bring constructive suggestions that will help us all in our task. In the end you will gain much more than that obtained from the narrow confines of your trade. A prosperous stable nation has more to offer than one that is racked by worker management dissension.

*National
seminar on
Productivity.
Kuala Lumpur,
April 15, 1982*

*Referring to
party elections.
Jitra,
September 23,
1993*

We don't join Umno to fight for the old guards or the young turks, what we should do now is for Umno because Umno is neither old nor young. We won't last but Umno will if it is well-preserved and well looked after.

It can live for 100, 200 or 1,000 years.

*On
responsibility
of delegates
(UMNO).
Jitra,
September 23,
1993*

I can't determine who should be a delegate but he must remember that he has a responsibility to the party, that he can vote and decide who wins and who loses.

*On the danger
of affecting
UMNO's unity
at the expense
of overzealous
support for
certain
individuals.
Jitra,
September 23,
1993*

If we over-idolised a person and could not be bothered with what will happen to the party, then we have digressed from party ideals.

A few black sheep people who are frustrated and who wanted positions but could not get them. These individuals “want to destroy what they could not get”.

Commenting on elements out to destroy UMNO after the High Court ruled on February 4, 1988 that UMNO was an illegal society.

Umno's struggle should be for the interests of all its members and not that of individuals or groups. We hope there will no longer be any individual or group in the party who can bear to see Umno destroyed merely because their personal aspirations or aims were not achieved. If Umno members realise that party interests supersede all others, I am convinced Umno will always be safe and continue to be strong and progress. Our loyalty should always be to the party as a strong Umno will not only safeguard the Malays and Bumiputeras but also other races in the country.

*Opening the UMNO General Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 4,
1993*

*Launch of the
"Kampungku"
programme at
Batu Tiga.
Tapah, July 22,
1993*

The government will strive to preserve positive village culture as the foundation for building a developed Malaysian nation having good morals by the year 2020.

Village culture which placed importance on good neighbourliness, morality, religion and good relations among the people would be upheld.



Malaysians respect each other's religions, customs and beliefs, are able to give and take are also tolerant of one another. We, therefore, get on reasonably well.

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

To ignore this aspiration is to court defeat. Vision 2020 has in fact become a unifying dream and target of every responsible Malaysian. Successive Governments can thus be expected to work towards this Malaysian dream if they wish to get the support of the people.

When we talk about Vision 2020, we stress moral values, not just per capita income of US\$14,000.

Those who are responsible for shaping this vision today will not be able to continue the struggle to ensure its actual success in the 30 years to come. The senior leaders in society can plan such visions by giving guidelines and advice and lay the foundation but the task of attaining the vision lies with the youths.

If previously, independence was the main factor of unity for the multi-racial, multi-religious people, now Vision 2020 must stimulate us to enhance unity and co-operation.

Keynote address at the international conference on "Malaysia: Powerhouse of the 90s" organised by the International Herald Tribute Malaysian Industrial Development Authority and Institute of Strategic And International Studies (ISIS). Kuala Lumpur, November 15, 1993

Kuala Lumpur, September 15, 1993

1993 National Youth gathering. Kota Bharu, July 26, 1993

Message in the National Day Souvenir programme. Kuching, August 30, 1993

*"The meaning of
Vision 2020".
Seremban,
May 26, 1991*

This is Vision 2020. It is for everyone and not for the government alone. Neither is it for me as I will not remain as Prime Minister in 2020. We need to work for the future even though we will not be able to taste the fruits of our labour. It is really unbecoming and greedy of a person to work only for his own interests and not work if he cannot live to benefit from his labour.

*Inaugural
meeting of
Malaysian
Business Council.
Kuala Lumpur,
February 28,
1991*

Most of us in this present Council will not be there on the morning of January-1,2020. Not many, I think. The great bulk of the work that must be done to ensure a fully developed country called Malaysia a generation from now will obviously be done by the leaders who follow us, by our children and grand-children. But we should make sure that we have done our duty in guiding them with regard to what we should work to become. And let us lay the secure foundations that they must build upon.

*Speech at UMNO
General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 4,
1993*

It is no longer impossible for Malaysia to become a developed nation. Vision 2020 is not a dream or wishful thinking. The vision can be a reality. But it would not materialise out of the blue, in the same manner that our success now did not come from coincidence.

*Speech at the
inaugural
Congress of
Sabah Progressive
Party (SAPP).
Kota Kinabalu,
July 23, 1994*

Some people try to be cynical about our Vision 2020 to become a developed country like Japan and those in Europe and America. But have confidence that if we believe in ourselves, we can master all types of knowledge and skills. We can be a developed country in 2020. We have to prove that we are capable, and Malaysia is capable.

If we stop moving forward, they (the developed nations) can restrict our growth and push

us behind to the extent we will become a society suppressed by certain groups.

Johor Bharu,
October 11, 1993

Even now, there are many independent countries which have to seek assistance and aid from developed nations because their progress is slow.

The developed countries extend their assistance but at the same time take advantage to dictate terms to the poor nations.

This is why the Government decided that we must become a developed nation by the year 2020 so that we will not have to bow to anyone and can stand our own ground.

There can be no fully developed Malaysia until we have finally overcome the nine central strategic challenges that have confronted us from the moment of our birth as an independent nation.

The first of these is the challenges of establishing a united Malaysian nation with a sense of common and shared destiny. This must be a nation at peace with itself, territorially and ethnically integrated, living in harmony and full and fair partnership, made up of one 'Bangsa Malaysia' with political loyalty and dedication to the nation.

The second is the challenge of creating a psychologically liberated, secure, and developed Malaysian Society with faith and confidence in itself, justifiably proud of what it is, of what it has accomplished, robust enough to face all manner of adversity. This Malaysian Society must be distinguished by the pursuit of excellence, fully aware of all its potential, psychologically subservient to none, and respected by the peoples of other nations.

*Announcing the
nine challenges
to be overcome
for Malaysia to
become a fully
developed
nation.
Kuala Lumpur,
February 28,
1991*

The third challenge we have always faced is that of fostering and developing a mature democratic society, practising a form of mature consensual, community-oriented Malaysian democracy that can be a model for many developing countries.

The fourth is the challenge of establishing a fully moral and ethical society, whose citizens are strong in religious and spiritual values and imbued with the highest of ethical standards.

The fifth challenge that we have always faced is the challenge of establishing a matured liberal and tolerant society in which Malaysians of all colours and creeds are free to practise and profess their customs, cultures and religious beliefs and yet feeling that they belong to one nation.

The sixth is the challenge of establishing a scientific and progressive society, a society that is innovative and forward-looking, one that is not only a consumer of technology but also a contributor to the scientific and technological civilisation of the future.

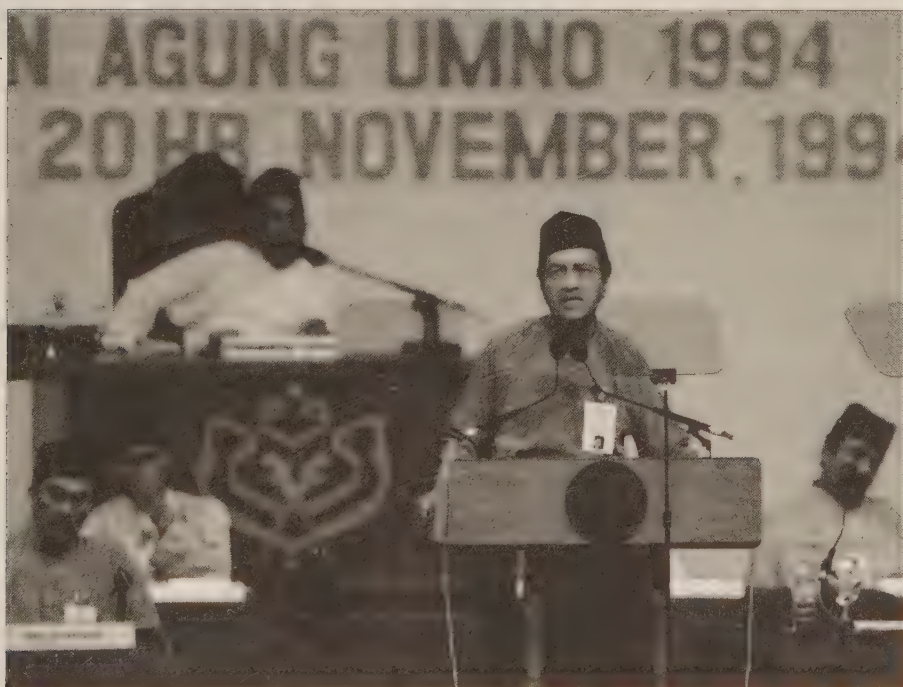
The seventh challenge is the challenge of establishing a fully caring society and a caring culture, a social system in which society will come before self, in which the welfare of the people will revolve not around the state or the individual but around a strong and resilient family system.

The eighth is the challenge of ensuring an economically just society. This is a society in which there is a fair and equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation, in which there is full partnership in economic progress. Such a society cannot be in place so long as there is the identification of race with economic function, and the identification of economic backwardness with race.

The ninth challenge is the challenge of establishing a prosperous society, with an economy that is fully competitive, dynamic, robust and resilient.

If you want to choose or vote, think first of what is good and bad for the party and not what is good for this or that person.

*Advising UMNO members on party election.
Jitra,
September 23,
1993*



We don't join Umno to fight for the old guard or the young turks, what we should do now is for Umno because Umno is neither old nor young. We won't last but Umno will if it is well - preserved and well looked after.

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

*Kuala Lumpur,
March 2, 1994*

I believe that the worker's salaries need to be raised but the increase must be in line with productivity.

*Kuala Lumpur,
December 31,
1993*

The managers are demanding higher wages and more perks. There are some who asked for wages in various forms totalling nearly two million ringgit a year. In fact it is greedy managers like these who cause the conglomerates in the United States to fold up and go bankrupt and the American economy to decline.

*Response to a
student who
said his
semester
allowance was
not enough.
Speaking to
students of
International
Islamic
University.
Petaling Jaya,
August 24,
1993*

When I first worked as a clerk, I earned RM30 monthly which I considered insufficient.

After I qualified in medicine and became a houseman, I was paid a monthly salary of RM300. This was also not enough.

When I became a medical officer, I earned RM750 and this too was not enough.

Because it was not enough, I became a private practitioner and monthly earned RM2,400. This was also not enough. Now I have become a philosopher.

The Government wants all workers in Malaysia to have high wages. A developed nation has no significance to its employees if their wages are low. Nevertheless, wages are not the main thing. This is because wages can be increased by reducing the value of the currency. And the value of the currency would continue to fall when costs increase and inflation rises. The same thing would happen if we pay wages in lira. The wages would be high but the goods we buy from the income would not increase. The same thing would happen even if we reduce the value of the ringgit to 50 sen, we may be able to double the wages, but the purchasing power would not rise. We do not become wealthier just because we have more money.

*Speech at
UMNO General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 4,
1994*



*A giant of a man whose very name MANDELA has come to symbolise the struggle by the people of South Africa for freedom, for democracy and for basic human rights. For many of us you have come to epitomise fortitude and perseverance.
(Picture courtesy of Bernama)*

SECTION II
INTERNATIONAL

*7th Conference
of Heads of
State and
Government of
Non-aligned
Countries.
New Delhi,
March 8, 1983*

In 1979, the Soviet Union unleashed its military might on its puny neighbour, Afghanistan. Once again we see a repetition of the disregard for principles that has been so blatantly demonstrated in Kampuchea. The Soviet Union claims to champion the cause of the weak and oppressed, but it had no hesitation about marching into Afghanistan to prop up an unpopular regime. There is only a transparent attempt to hide behind a proxy - but, the fact is that, Afghanistan is occupied by Soviet troops.

The pattern is clear for all to see. If a neighbour is strong, then the possibility of being occupied is very real. Might, is right. If this Movement fails to condemn the Soviet Union, then fear will stalk the little nations situated next to predatory neighbours.

Aid is important. Soft loans are welcome. But it is important not to take away with one hand what the other hand gives. Development aid will not help if the resultant development is negated by restrictive trade practices. No country wants to live on aid forever. Every country wants to earn money for itself. This it can do only if there are no trade restrictions. The incentives offered by developing countries for export manufacturing can only be worthwhile if the developed countries open their markets.

*5th Session of
the Interaction
Council.
Kuala Lumpur,
April 19, 1987*

Do not just hold back aid because of alleged breaches of human rights or whatever. The donor and the recipient and possibly a third party should study how best to continue to give aid but control the breaches of human rights.

*Commonwealth
Finance
Ministers'
Meeting.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 9,
1991*

The linkages between trade and aid with the democratic practices of a country should not be selective. Friends or foes should not count. It would be a mockery and a farce if friends can get away with dictatorship and oppressions while those who are not friendly and given to plain speaking are subjected to the proposed pressures.

*United Nations
General
Assembly.
New York,
September 29,
1982*

Presently exploitation of the resources in the Antarctica is too costly and the technology is not yet available. But no doubt the day will come when Antarctica can provide the world with food and other resources for its development. It is only right that such exploitation should benefit the poor nations as much as the rich.

*Speech at
dinner in
honour of
Yugoslavia's
Prime Minister
Milka Planjac.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 11,
1985*

Another area of concern to my Government is Antarctica. It is my Government's view that the whole world has a legitimate right to that continent. Its location, vastness, fragile eco - system, rich marine and possibly mineral resources have a direct significance for international peace and security, economy, environment, scientific research and so on. These are matters of global interest.

My Government abhors South Africa's inhuman policy of apartheid. This is a travesty of justice and is an affront to human dignity. Apartheid, coupled with the Pretoria regime's deliberate and provocative armed incursions into neighbouring states, constitute a major cause of tension and instability, not only in Africa, but also the world at large. Malaysia will continue to fully support the cause of the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle for equality, justice and dignity against apartheid. Those who champion human rights, or claim to do so, could do better by condemning the Pretoria regime and treating them like the freaks that they are.

*United Nations
General
Assembly.
New York,
September 29,
1982*

In the Southern tip of the continent of Africa, the inhuman policy of apartheid is still being followed by the whites of South Africa. There is no country that flouts all human values with such arrogance as South Africa. The continued existence of the white regime is an insult to the whole human race.

*7th Conference
of the Heads of
State and
Government of
Non-Aligned
Countries.
New Delhi,
March 8, 1983*

*Speech on
"International
Security in
1984. How
can we unblock
the situation".
January 28,
1984*

But of course bankrupting one's own country is not enough for the superpowers. To cover cost and achieve economies of scale, the arms produced must be sold as widely as possible. The world is now full of arms salesmen gleefully expounding the efficacy of their murder weapons. Guerrillas and terrorists are good potential customers. Who cares what these people will do with the weapons. The important thing is volume and foreign exchange earnings.

The poor developing countries have to buy arms because neighbouring predators have bought arms. State of the art is the selling point now i.e. state of the art of murder and massacre. And as the state of the art improves by arithmetical progression the cost increases by geometrical progression. Then, of course, no sooner had a weapon system been purchased when a new salesman arrives with system that will counter the system that has already been purchased. The poor buyer can turn down the offer, but what is the guarantee the counter-measures will not be sold to the potential enemy?

*International
Conference on
South East Asia
and Pacific Age
organised by
Association for the
Promotion of
International Co-
operation, Japan
and Institute of
Strategic and
International
Studies.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 3, 1984*

It is also disheartening to note that there are those who still believe that if you want peace, you must prepare for war and that the only guarantee of stability is the creation of balances of military power. In the past it may have been logical for a peace-loving nation to be so well-armed for defence that no one will dare to attack it. But in these days of enormously expensive star-war weapons such a notion is ridiculous.

One wonders sometimes whether it is worthwhile buying any weapons since it is going to be obsolete by the time delivery takes place. Then there is the problem of choosing between several with the same specifications but are somehow different. To a civilian like me, no choice is right. Invariably when a decision is made, everyone will point out how much better are the other weapons.

Looking at the vast array of weapons and equipment that are on show at this exhibition, we can become either more enlightened or more confused. But one thing is certain. Defence costs and the worst thing that can happen in terms of cost is an arms race. Even the super powers can be bankrupted by such a race, long before we have star wars. I do hope that here in South East Asia, we do not have a mini arms race.

Malaysia is not ambitious when it comes to producing arms. We have no desire to become a supplier of arms to anyone else. We are a peace-loving country and our needs for weapons are simple. If we go into the manufacture of arms it is only to meet these needs. Only if economics of scale forces us, will we produce more than our needs and sell the excess. But weapons that never need to be used may prove to be the best investment. We can say that they are a deterrent. It was a British Prime Minister, I believe, who said that "To have peace you must prepare for war". Britain was unprepared then and Britain had war. Malaysia unfortunately cannot afford to believe too much in that maxim.

*Opening the
Asian Defence
Exhibition and
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
February 18,
1986*

*Speech on
World Trade,
GATT, Groups
and Growth at
the Asia Society
Conference on
"Asia and the
Changing
World Order".
Tokyo, May 13,
1993*

A quarter of a century ago, when we in Asean took the bold and no doubt "foolhardy" step for co-operative peace and prosperity in South-East Asia, who could have expected what we have been able to achieve? That act of regional statesmanship - the establishment of Asean - was the result of regional decision-making on the part of countries which were intent on greater regional self-determination and empowerment.

Over the years, Asean has been developed as a result of indigenous statesmanship, uninspired by any extra-regional exhortation, unguided by any extra-regional power, uncontrolled by any extra-regional force.

Asean has consistently been inspired by hopes that came from within the region. Asean was at every step jointly and democratically guided by all the members of Asean, working on the basis of regional consensus.

Asean has been controlled entirely by the partners of this egalitarian regional joint venture. There was never a hub from which extended the spokes. There was never a dominant partner, although on specific issues a member country may have played a more prominent role or the interest of a particular member may have been given greater emphasis. Leadership may seem other things elsewhere. It may mean domination, hegemony, imperialism. In Asean, we have established a Pax without an Imperium, a Peace without a protector.

I wish to emphasize that in so far as Malaysia is concerned, ASEAN remains in the forefront of our foreign policy priorities. The rationale behind the Government's thinking in this regard is the vital role of ASEAN as a stabilizing influence and as a catalyst in developing the economic resilience of the region. We cannot prosper alone in a region that is in turmoil and unstable. To prosper we have to have the kind of regional environment that is conducive to economic growth. Malaysia's adherence to the principles of ASEAN co-operation is therefore not altruistic. It is enlightened self-interest. And because it is so, we will always place the interest of ASEAN as a top priority.

ASEAN has become an important platform for the development of closer relations with advanced countries as well as with international organisations. ASEAN, therefore has an important role to play in national, regional and international affairs.

*12th meeting of
ASEAN
Economic
Ministers.
Kuala Lumpur,
January 14,
1982*

*Opening the
24th ASEAN
Ministerial
Meeting.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 19, 1991*

We cannot continue with the piece-meal approach to trade liberalisation among ourselves. I support, therefore, the recent proposal made by Prime Minister Anand of Thailand that we work towards the establishment of an ASEAN Free Trade Area although there are many structural factors that inhibit our economic integration, such as our different levels of economic development, our competing economies, our lack of industrial complementation and our frequently divergent perceptions of short and long term benefits both for the individual nation and the region. I appreciate that these are hard issues and harder still to make the choices. But make them we must if ASEAN wishes to be counted as an economic force in her own right.

*On Asean -
Japan economic
co-operation.
Tokyo,
January 24,
1983*

What is vital is not merely a need for heart-to-heart diplomacy, but mind-to-mind technology transfer and hand-in-hand co-operation to build up the existing relationship into one that is mutually beneficial and long lasting in terms of down-to-earth benefits for our peoples.

Asia is of course a very large place. It is where half of mankind lives. It is not a homogeneous entity, but a composite of several continents. And because of that Asia will remain a mere geographical expression. It is not and will not be a political or an economic entity. It will continue to have serious contradictions and on many issues it will be divided and at odds with itself.

At the same time, I believe that in the years ahead Asia, especially East Asia, will also find many areas of common concern, many areas of common purpose, and many areas of common action.

The Asia of today is no longer the Asia of the past. We must be accorded our rightful place in a world that has already changed.

We have a dynamic present to traverse and a dynamic future to make. This is a journey we cannot make alone. Asia should eagerly extend the hand of friendship and co-operation to all nations, regions and continents which are willing to work with us in true partnership.

Asia's potential is just being discovered. The fact that it is only now that attention is being given by the world's business community implies a lack of information and often of deliberate misinformation about Asian countries. In this great information age, it is surprising to see how myths about Asia continue to be regurgitated with depressing frequency. To most of the Western world Asian countries are still the typical mismanaged,

Speech at the Asia Society Conference in "Asia and the Changing World Order". Tokyo, May 13, 1993

17th Asian Advertising Congress. Kuala Lumpur, November 5, 1990

grossly corrupt and undemocratic nations, quite incapable of making progress. On the other hand if they do make progress they are likely to become economic and military threats to Western domination. In actual fact Asian nations are merely desirous of progress in the Western sense and wish to have their share of prosperity.

Asia has been and will be growing faster than other parts of the world in the near future. This has led many analysts to believe it will match the European Community and North America as a market place in the 1990s. Asia has been shielded from the eyes of Westerners for so long that when statements about Asia becoming the 'Mega Market of the 1990s' are made, it sounds hardly credible. Yet, the vast natural resources and the huge population must mean markets

If the 1980s was the decade of the so-called NICs, the 1990s could well be the decade of Asia. The East and South East perimeters of Asia enjoy growing prosperity and the prospect of the socialist economies to the North and West of Asia joining their ranks in the future is brighter now than ever before.

There should be no illusions, however. At least some of the talk about Asia's economic successes is motivated by less than good intentions. Some nations, fearing that they will one day have to face Asian countries as competitors, are doing their utmost to keep them at bay. They constantly wag accusing fingers in Asia's direction, saying that its economies have benefitted from less than acceptable practices, for example, denial of human rights and workers rights, undemocratic governments, disregard for the environment, etc.

We think APEC should continue to be an informal grouping and should not institutionalise all its meetings or have a regular programme for ministers to meet.

*AFP report:
Kuala Lumpur,
March 22,
1994*

We should meet when there is a need to do so. We should not be held back by APEC if we want to participate in some other fora.

But it is useful only if members are allowed to carry on their own negotiations with other groups and other countries and be free to trade with everybody and not bound to any special regulations.

APEC has perhaps the potential to be a Pan-Pacific organisation encompassing a number of sub-groupings. If APEC is to move forward however, its goal must be an organisation of equal states committed to free trade and economic co-operation both in principle and practice. In the meantime it would be more convincing, and certainly it would inspire confidence in us, if those who loudly espouse its benefits demonstrate their commitment to free trade in tangible ways. Chile and others in this part of the world, as much as China and Vietnam, should join the APEC process and work with us to achieve these objectives.

*Speech on
"Co-operation
and
Competition in
the Pacific"
organised by
the Chilean
Council for
International
Relations.
Santiago,
June 20, 1994*

Proposing the formation of American, European and Australian equivalents of the Asia Watch movement formed by Western countries.
Johor Bharu,
October 12,
1993

What is so great about them that they want to supervise us as if they have never committed any offence. They are not superior beings. In fact in their own countries, they commit all kinds of injustices and I suggest that we have a Europe Watch, America Watch and Australia Watch.



"Leadership may seem other things elsewhere. It may mean domination, hegemony, imperialism. In Asean, we have established a Pax without an Imperium, a Peace without a protector".
(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

We are practically over the hump, perhaps. But there is still a lot that needs to be done.

Australia must avoid an arrogant, abrasive and Westernised approach in its dealings with the region.

I think it's a good thing for Australia to realise it is of this region, it's not part of Europe.

- Both countries had adopted a hardline stance for several years over incidents including the hanging in Malaysia of two Australians for drug offences and logging of rainforest.
Excerpt from an interview in "The Australian"
Sydney,
March 26, 1993

But, it seems, Australia is more angry than the United States because I did not go and (it) scolded me, and called me "mamak" and all kinds of things.

What kind of journalists (are they?) they used ill words against me simply because I did not go to America.

They (Australian journalists) lack manners that's why I say they do not have Asian character and as such their statement that they are an Asian nation has no meaning whatsoever.

We can't do anything if people have no manners if children, we can smack them but a whole nation or the journalists of one nation who have no manners, it's very difficult.

Response to Paul Keating's remark in Seattle, USA that he was sick of hearing about Dr. Mahathir's refusal to attend the Seattle summit on APEC and that the Prime Minister was a recalcitrant and on negative reports by the Australian press.
December 1993

| *Langkawi,*
| *Dec 10, 1993*

Number one is to speak the truth and when you cannot speak the truth, you tone down. You (once) went around telling people that we murdered Vietnamese (refugees) when in fact we were helping them. "Do you think that is fair? We don't get angry for no reason you (Australian Press) show the pictures of us slashing and killing and celebrating the murder of Vietnamese (refugees). I saw those pictures it is grossly unfair. We never said anything about Australians misbehaving ... even if they do, why should we annoy them. We think it is in the best interest of everyone to speak the truth.

BEAUTIFICATION OF CITIES

◀ 140

Concrete all around, without cleanliness and beautification will render the environment drab and depressing. Cleanliness and beautification does not mean elaborate and expensive landscaping and rock gardens; even big healthy trees properly dispersed together with green grassy patches which break the greyness of concrete and bitumen, free from waste paper and plastics can turn a city into a garden. Man and the waste he creates is the greatest menace to the environment. Man the builder, must design buildings and the environment to contain this menace.

*Opening of
the 20th
Convention of
the Asian and
Western Pacific
Contractors
Associations.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 25, 1983*

B I O D I V E R S I T Y

◀ 141

There must be a sharing of efforts and responsibility for maintaining biodiversity. The numerous species that are being preserved are not all harmless. Some are dangerous to health. To ask only the developing countries to preserve them is to expose the peoples of these countries to unacceptable threats to their well-being. It is difficult to convince a man who is about to be eaten by a tiger or trampled by an elephant or dying of typhus or malaria that he is helping to preserve biodiversity. It is imperative that the developed countries do their bit for biodiversity.

*Opening the
International
Conference on
Biodiversity.
Kuala Lumpur,
June 12, 1990*

*Commonwealth
Summit,
Nicosia.
Cyprus,
October 21,
1993*

Some of us even went so far as to say that where human rights violations are concerned we have a right to intervene even in the internal affairs of a country.

Yet in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where ethnic cleansing involves murders and rapes of Bosnian Muslims by Bosnian Serbs aided by the Serbian Government of rump Yugoslavia, the righteousness that some of us display over minor infringement of human rights, is remarkably absent.

Instead the Serbs are to be rewarded with territories they have ethnically cleansed. Can we in the Commonwealth, who had appealed for outside co-operation to help some of our members in need, ignore the Bosnian tragedy and elect to be silent simply because this is not a Commonwealth affair?

*Criticizing the
Permanent
members of the
UN Security
Council who
were neither
able to help nor
allow the
Bosnians to
arm themselves
against Serb
attacks.
Shah Alam,
May 19, 1993*

They themselves are not willing to help and they are also preventing us from helping.

Their action is like someone who is beaten with a stick but is prevented by others from getting his own stick for fear that he will beat back with the stick.

I don't know what logic they are using.

The cruelties committed by the Serbs defy imagination. In one case, which caused officials in one of the powerful countries of the West to resign in protest over their Government's passivity, a six year old child was repeatedly raped in front of her mother who not only had to watch but was prevented from giving any help until the little child died after two days of exposure.

This is not an isolated incident, Muslim women, old and young and little girls were raped, brutalised and killed by the tens of thousands at the hands of the Serbs and now the Croats.

Hundreds of thousands of Muslims have died and are dying and some two million have been forced to flee from their burning towns and villages.

The most tragic case is that of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The crime of the Muslims is that they wish for a non-Muslim religiously heterogeneous state. They were viciously attacked by the Serbs who openly declared that they were and are doing this to ensure that Europe remains Christian. They are not prevented by the Europeans.

On Serbian atrocities, attacks on Bosnian Muslims. 48th Plenary session of the United Nations General Assembly. New York, October 1, 1993

Describing the basic cause of the Bosnian conflict 48th Plenary Session of the United Nations General Assembly. New York, October 1, 1993

*Speech at
dinner in
honour of
British Prime
Minister
Margaret
Thatcher.
Kuala Lumpur,
April 5, 1985*

Although our past has been linked with many countries in the East and the West, it is with Britain that the association is longest. Britain gave us a Malaysian identity where once there was identification only with the little states where we lived. Britain also inspired our system of government and left the rudiments of an administration which we have built up with great enthusiasm, although perhaps unwisely.

*Speech at
dinner hosted
by the British -
Malaysian
Society.
London,
July 22, 1987*

Let me say something about Malaysia. We are what we are partly because of the contribution by the British. I will not pretend that there was such a country as Malaysia before the British came. We were separate small Malay Sultanates which had a tendency to break up into smaller states because the Sultans gave away chunks of lands which then became Malay states. The British created Malaya and created the preconditions for Malaysia.

The Democratic form of Government, Constitutional Monarchy, the separation of the Legislative from the Executive and the Judicial branches was also British. The Civil Service system was pioneered by British officers. The rubber industry and the expansion of tin mining also took place during the British colonial period.

But the British were also responsible for the biggest headache that Malaysia faces today - race relations.

The British brought in Chinese and Indians without thinking at all about the effect on the Malays. Today we are saddled with the problem of managing three separate races with three separate incompatible cultures and religions. If today these people are not at each other's throat it is certainly not due to any help from others. The British left us this problem. We are independent now and we really do not expect to be helped in resolving our race problems.

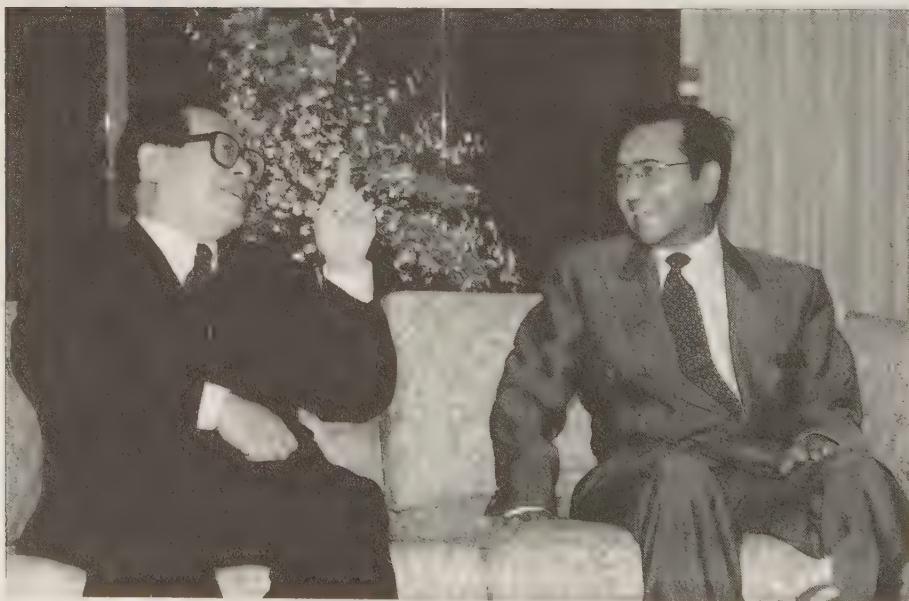


*"The British created Malay and created the preconditions for Malaysia".
(Picture courtesy of Bernama)*

*Speech at
dinner of the
Harvard Club
of Malaysia.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 22,
1990*

Economics cannot be totally divorced from politics. It was the extreme division between the rich and the poor that led to the birth of socialist and Communist political theories. Today we know that socialism and communism have both failed. But after the birth of socialism and communism, capitalism too was forced to change in order to survive. The capitalism we see today is but a shadow of its former self.

Perhaps if absolute capitalism was allowed to continue economic growth would have been faster. But it could not last. The extreme disparities of the pure capitalist system would have resulted in political upheavals, and whatever economic gains from it would be destroyed and destroyed completely.



"We do not look at China as our potential enemy. We look at China as a country which has a great potential for becoming an economic power".

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

I know of the possibility of the division of Canada. I am aware of the issues in Mexico and some of the internal security concerns in North and Central America. But I am confident that China will not break up, that the Japanese are not going to lose their senses and there will be no violent maritime conflict in the region.

*Keynote address
at 27th
International
General
meeting of
Pacific Basin
Economic
Council (PBEC).
Kuala Lumpur,
May 23, 1994*

On the other hand one cannot expect China to flip over 180 degrees and suddenly become a great democracy, accepting all that is meant by the open market.

*The 1994 China
Summit
Meeting.
Beijing,
May 11, 1994*

..... a prosperous China will become the engine of growth firstly for East Asia, including Southeast Asia, and then the world.

We do not look at China as our potential enemy. We look at China as a country which has a great potential for becoming an economic power.

*Kuala Lumpur,
November 20,
1993*

*"Outlook for
the Pacific
Regime"
International
Monetary
Conference.
Hong Kong,
June 3, 1985*

There are many in the Pacific, including in my own country, who fear China as an economic competitor not only for investment but also markets. Such apprehensions are not groundless but in their overstated form they could be a large illusion. Much of the produce of China will be consumed internally. Much of the competition will be in products in which we no longer trade. Even when we are direct-product competitors, there should be no presumption that we cannot be more efficient producers. Most assuredly, I believe that most of the countries of the Pacific will be able to meet the coming Chinese challenge if the rules of the game are fair. What we should have no illusion about is to presume that the rules will be fair, that for strategic reasons the rules of the game will not take into account - in the future the dictates of the development of the United States-Japan-China strategic coalition.

*"Speech on
"Regional
Co-operation
and Prospects",
Qing Hua
University.
Beijing,
November 22,
1985*

..... we welcome the many assurances of your leaders that China will never seek hegemony and will never do anything to harm us. We also note your assurances that China's developing military capacity is purely for its own defence. We appreciate the enormous burden of self-restraint and responsibility that this entails. I ask that you understand us, if despite these assurances some concerns linger on, for we are extremely jealous of our sovereignty and trust does not come easily to us in view of our past experiences.

The world has come a long way since the days of the cold war. We recall the brinkmanship displayed during the Berlin blockade and the Cuban missile crisis and how relieved the world was when statesmanship won the day. The question that faces us is whether the world today is any safer than in the days of the cold war. Are the big powers really sincere when they decided to remove and dismantle their intermediate missiles or are they merely discarding out of date weaponry in favour of more lethal state of the art weapons? Are we really heading for disarmament or greater sophistication in the big powers' capacity for mass destruction?

*Speech at
official dinner
for Danish
Prime Minister
Poul Schluter.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 17,
1988*

*8
9*

*Speech on
"ASEAN with
1990s and
Beyond". The
Council of
Foreign
Relations.
New York,
September 26,
1991*

When Mr. Gorbachev started talking about perestroika and glasnost and indicated his desire to reduce tension between East and West there was a great deal of scepticism. But this subsequent action in releasing the Eastern European countries from Soviet military hegemony not only brought undisguised jubilation in the West but also among those countries which were the targets of Communist subversion.

Today we all know that the process that Gorbachev started was not some Communist trick but an earnest and total rejection of the Communist ideology. We all have reason to celebrate, the West, the non-Communist world and the peoples who had long been oppressed by Communist rule.

In South East Asia, the countries which comprise ASEAN are glad to welcome the end of the Cold War. Without exception the six countries had all felt the full brunt of Communist subversion and insurgency. It was only with great difficulty and debilitating cost that they all managed to overcome their insurgents even while they develop democratic systems with free market economies. With the end of the Cold War they fully expect to grow and prosper in a period of political stability.

But, unfortunately, the moment we became an independent Commonwealth country, the Commonwealth had ceased to be a preferential market for Commonwealth countries. There are all kinds of restrictions so that we never really enjoyed the privileges of being a member of the Commonwealth, the privileges that were enjoyed to the full by the earlier members. You must pardon us if over the years we have become less enthusiastic about the Commonwealth.

*Dinner speech
in honour of
Australian
Prime Minister
Malcolm
Fraser.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 2, 1982*

But we have since found out that the Commonwealth has nothing to do with wealth commonly owned. If any member wants anything he has to pay for it, one way or another. If non-members are prepared to pay more, then they have priority. The fact that the poor cannot pay as much, has nothing whatsoever to do with the wealth available in the Commonwealth. It is because of this that Malaysia has relegated the Commonwealth to fourth place in order of priority in its foreign relations. We appreciate the ambience created by the knowledge of a common language. We do feel comfortable in surroundings which are often familiar. But beyond that there is really very little.

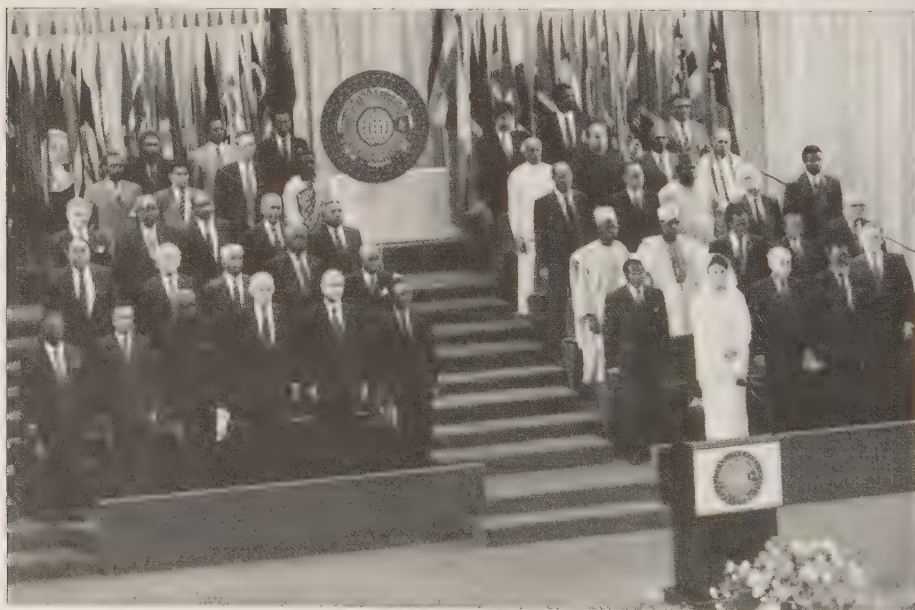
*Speech at
dinner in
honour of
British Prime
Minister
Margaret
Thatcher.
Kuala Lumpur,
April 5, 1985*

*Commonwealth
Heads of
Government
meeting.
Nassau,
October 16,
1985*

If the Commonwealth is to be perpetuated, the Commonwealth must achieve tangible and meaningful results for its members. It must give some substance to the term "common wealth", particularly for the poorer members.

*Speech at the
Commonwealth
Heads of
Government
meeting.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 18,
1989*

Malaysia in a way has rediscovered the Commonwealth. We admit that we were at one time disenchanted. But in an increasingly interdependent world the Commonwealth provided an important forum for the discussion and even the settlement of some international problems.



*Malaysia in a way has rediscovered the Commonwealth.
(Picture courtesy of Bernama)*

Communism remains a wonderful system whose only fault lies in the fact that it simply does not work. What works is pure dictatorship in the name of that ideology.

*International
Monetary
Conference.
Hong Kong,
June 3, 1985*

We are living in the beginning of the era. We are still sceptical. Will the leopard change its spots? Will diehard Communists sworn to spread the creed throughout the world really give up their ideological mission? We are not completely sure.

But the process that has been started cannot be easily stopped or reversed. Like the capitalists who liberalised their ownership and control in order to counter the spread of Communism, the Communists are likely to lose control of the liberalizing process which their leaders have started.

*"The Singapore
Lecture 1988"
organised by the
Institute of
Southeast Asian
Studies.
Singapore,
December 14,
1988*

After about seventy years of practising life without any religion, the Communists in Eastern Europe and Russia have failed miserably and disintegrated. Clearly, there is no spiritual anchor in such a society and their failure in achieving their purely materialistic objectives must in some way be due to this spiritual emptiness. The failure is total and complete so much so that a great power is now forced to literally beg for help from its former enemies.

*Citing rejection
of religion as
one of the causes
of the collapse of
Communism.
Speech on
"The Role and
Influence of
Religion in
Society".
Kuala Lumpur,
September 14,
1993*

*Commonwealth
Finance
Ministers'
meeting.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 9,
1991*

We are seeing today a most glorious counter-revolution. We see the death of Communism and the birth of Democracy and the adoption of the free market system all over the world. But it would be naive of us to fail to see that the initial fruits of the espousal of democracy and the free market are not the expected wealth and prosperity or even stability and freedom from fear. In many of the countries of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe we are seeing increasing poverty and economic chaos, political instability and civil wars, death and destruction.

We must not be disheartened by those things, of course, but we should acknowledge them and be more cautious and circumspect before we link aid and trade, we twist arms in order to force democracy and all the other noble ideas and concepts down everyone's throats.

*Harvard Club
Dinner.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 28, 1993*

It is not that Communist values are all bad. They profess to believe in the equality of all men. But in their attempt to achieve this, they killed all individual initiatives and efforts. Bereft of these, they succeeded only in achieving equal poverty and equal misery. However the leaders reserve the right to enjoy better living standards, including luxuries. And so they, the leaders, became oblivious to the disastrous results of their Communist ethics and system.

Clearly with the Communist, the ethics preached was not the same as what was practised.

The debtors and the recipients of aid must also acknowledge their need to accept reasonable actions. No one will help if that help is going to be frittered away or be used to oppress or to sustain authoritarian rule.

The restructuring of debts cannot be resolved by merely asking the debtors to practise thrift and cut back development. The lenders and the agencies must actively provide guidance and direct help.

It is acknowledged that there may be political reasons for recalcitrance on the part of debtors. This should not be simply condemned. They should be studied and solutions found.

Schemes to collect debts from some of the most extensively indebted countries are simply not going to work. Refusing to lend anymore and bankrupting countries is not going to help anyone. Nor should the people of a country be punished as society punishes debtors.

The only real solution to the debt crisis is to write-off the whole or very nearly the whole of the debts owing. The lenders must admit they were indiscreet and must pay for it. Commercial banks and Governments alike must accept the losses. The Governments of the rich countries will not be bankrupted because of the write-off. And their banks can still be rehabilitated.

Urging donor nations and World bank to appreciate the difficulties of the recipients of aid.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 9,
1991

Ninth Conference of Heads of Governments of Non-Aligned Nations.
Belgrade,
September 4,
1989

*Kuala Lumpur,
February 22,
1988*

No one wants to invest in a country that is so democratic that demonstrations occur every day and the government falls every two months.

*Speech at the
1994 China
Summit
Meeting.
Beijing,
May 11, 1994*

We do not have a democratic system where the public good has to be sacrificed to powerful lobby groups. We are unashamedly community oriented. We do not believe that the rights of the individual come before the rights of society.

For what it is worth, I believe that whilst my country's success could not have been achieved without a democratic system of government, it would not have been possible without our particular form of democracy. Had we simply taken -lock, stock and barrel - a different democratic system that might have worked well elsewhere, we might today be in deep trouble.

I am certain that had we adopted the democratic system now in place in some Western countries, you may not have the Prime Minister of Malaysia in front of you today. He would be too busy dealing with riots and bombs in the Malaysian capital, assuming that a country called Malaysia still exists.

Democracy is the greatest idea ever conceived by man. Like all such ideas it was not born perfect. Who today would regard ten percent of the population having the absolute right to rule a state as democratic? Yet that was the democracy in the Greek city states which first conceived democratic government. In their view women and slaves had no rights.

The problem is that democracy is inherently unstable. This is a virtue in itself. It is the fear of being thrown out that motivated democratic governments to do their best for the people.

The magnitude of the catastroika in Russia and Eastern Europe over the last three years is without precedent in the recorded economic history of mankind. Their output today is 30 per cent lower than three years ago. No economy or group of economies came close to experiencing such a catastrophic collapse, even in the period of the Great Depression. And all these because they were made to believe that democracy plus market economy equals peace and prosperity.

The democracies of the West took hundreds of years in the making. Do not expect colonial territories ruled autocratically for several centuries by Western democracies to become perfect democracies overnight.

Many countries claim to be more democratic but what is the use of democracy if their unemployment rate exceeds 11 percent, with some touching 20 percent. What is there to be proud of their democracy if their people have to suffer?

Speech at the Asia Society Conference on "Asia and the Changing World Order". Tokyo, May 13, 1993

Addressing 43rd Session of the United Nations General Assembly. New York, October 4, 1988

Opening speech at the inaugural congress of Sabah Progressive Party (SAPP). Kota Kinabalu, July 23, 1994

*On Western
taunts that
Malaysia's
democratic
system was not
democratic
enough.
National Day
message.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 30, 1993*

Actually, they want to practise the democracy which brings about instability, economic decline and poverty. With such a situation, they can threaten and control us Malaysia practised democracy by giving the people the right to elect their representatives freely and this was the most important foundation of democracy.

*"The meaning of
Vision 2020".
Seremban,
May 26, 1991*

Democracy also means that it is our right to determine what type of democracy we choose to practise. We admit that there are certain restrictions in our country. Certain things are not allowed, as we feel that society also has the right to determine what is proper for it and not anyone can freely do what he likes.

Democracy is good if we know what it is and how to practise it. Democracy will be bad if we do not know how to make good use of it. Democracy does not mean that we are free to go to the streets and demonstrate and set cars and houses on fire every day as what takes place in some foreign countries. In our country, we are free to form trade unions but not for the purpose of rioting or ruining the economy of the country.

If a democracy is to survive, the limits of the freedoms granted must be observed judiciously. The division and the balance of power between the legislative, the executive and the judiciary must be observed. Free speech and a free press do not mean unlimited licence. Minorities too do not have unlimited rights. Pressure groups must know when to stop.

If these are understood and observed then democracy will survive. If irresponsible challenges directed at duly constituted authority leads to continuous and harmful disruptions, then democracy would be endangered. Once democracy is destroyed, its restoration will be very costly indeed for society. Indeed it may never be fully restored.

Democracy confers on the people rights and freedom of action. But rights and freedom are not free-standing entities. They must be accompanied by a sense of responsibility.

For a democracy to succeed the people must therefore be appreciative not only of their rights but also their responsibilities.

The exercise of democratic rights to the point where the people continuously suffer instability, insecurity and low or negative economic growth would seem to negate the objectives of being democratic. Yet, in most instances, it is not democracy which is at a fault but the failure to understand it or worse still, the manipulation of democracy by self-serving people.

*Opening the 8th
Malaysia Law
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 14,
1985*

*Opening the 2nd
Conference of
ASEAN Ministers
responsible for
Information.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 1, 1991*

*Addressing the
46th Session of
United Nations
General
Assembly.
New York,
September 24,
1991*

If democracy means to carry guns, to flaunt homosexuality, to disregard the institution of marriage, to disrupt and damage the well-being of the community in the name of individual rights, to destroy a particular faith, to have privileged institutions which are sacrosanct even if they indulge in lies and instigations which undermine society, the economy and international relations; to permit foreigners to break national laws; if these are the essential details, cannot the new converts opt to reject them? We, the converts, will accept the basics but what is the meaning of democracy if we have no right of choice at all, or if democracy means our people are consistently subjected to instability and disruptions and economic weakness which make us subject to manipulation by the powerful democracies of the world? Hegemony by democratic powers is no less oppressive than hegemony by totalitarian states.

..... let me add that in my judgment, the desire of the Chinese people for progress is so overwhelming that the Dengist Revolution will succeed to more or less the extent that the Maoist Revolution did thirty-five years ago. In a sense both are heroic leaders of their time, responding to the aspirations of their people in the only way they know how.

*"Outlook for
the Pacific
Region"
International
Monetary
Conference.
Hong Kong,
June 3, 1985*



*"..... a prosperous China will become the engine of growth firstly for East Asia,
including Southeast Asia, and then the world".
(Picture courtesy of Bernama)*

*Speech at
UMNO
General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 4, 1994*

If studied deeply, one of the factors which has led developed countries to suffer from an economic recession is rising production costs which have affected the ability of their goods to compete in the international market. Their workers and trade unions continue to rely on the "test of strength" approach when settling disputes. That is why their economies remain weak even though other factors such as capital, technology and international market give a certain comparative advantage to them.

*Speech at Asia
Society
Conference on
"Asia and the
Changing
World Order".
Tokyo, May 13,
1993*

The present and near term problems of the developed countries have to be seen in the context of long-term structural decline in dynamism. The industrial world grew by an average five percent in the 1960s, by an average of only 3.1 percent in the 1970s, and by an average of only 2.7 percent in the 1980s. We can hope that in the 1990s economic history will change direction. But we cannot count on it.

We see today among the advanced developed nations a laxity and a dirth of moral values which spawn permissive cultures, breed politicians who misuse power and position and businessmen and financiers who cheat on a massive scale, cause the breakdown of the family and the institution of marriage, create mindless impersonal welfare states where people expect to get something for nothing and horrendous crimes which include mass murders and even cannibalism. If this is what we are heading for we may well ask ourselves whether it is worth the effort. Indeed, there are already people who are opposed to progress and will strive to stop us because of their fears of a materialistic, hedonistic and Godless society.

*Speech at
annual dinner
of Financial
Institutions.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 28,
1991*

*Speech on
"Investment
Opportunities
in Malaysia for
Mid-America
Corporations".
Chicago,
October 11,
1984*

The developing countries will never ever displace the role of the developed countries as the major producers of manufactured goods. They are going to be confined to the less sophisticated, mainly labour-intensive industries. As such they will complement the industries of the developed countries. But there is a chance that they will become richer and will most certainly become better customers of the developed countries.

*Speech at
Nordic
Financial
Institutions
Gathering.
Helsinki,
April 17, 1985*

For a long time to come, the developing countries will be dependent on the industrial nations for the technology and the capital to improve their standard of living. In the true spirit of free enterprise, if it still exists, the developing countries do not seek hand-outs, but a fair chance to sell their products without handicaps and barriers of one form or the other

We cannot have it both ways. Having made many developing countries into debtor nations, the large industrial nations cannot force the adjustment process only on one party, requiring the debtors to tighten belts and increase exports, while lender countries continue to restrict market access. This beggar thy neighbour approach must be doomed to failure.

It looks like strong nations have the right to interfere in the affairs of small countries even to arrest people from the smaller nations for trial in their countries.

*Kuala Lumpur,
July 9, 1992*

If we are a weak developing nation, always indebted to others, we'll then be unable to defend our independence.

*Opening the
SOUTH-
SOUTH II
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
May 5, 1986*

We talk often of the need for disarmament, that is that which involve the big powers. But what is our record? In 1974 the Third World bought RM1.4 billion of weapons from the developed countries. By 1984 that figure has grown to RM29.4 billion. Isn't it about time we talk about arms limitations among ourselves? No one disputes the need for defense capability. But do we need to have mini arms races with our neighbours? This guns before butter policy is killing us. We have to stop this nonsense and, incidentally, we will also stop enriching the already rich.

We may not again be the centre of the world. But at least we should be the centre of our world. We must commit ourselves to ensuring that the history of East Asia will be made in East Asia, for East Asia and by East Asians.

If you think I am an optimist about the future of this part of the world, you are right. I believe that in the years ahead, there will further dramatic developments. East Asia, which has been the home of so many of the economic miracles of the 20th century, will continue to be the home of many of the economic miracles of the 21st century.

The strategic condition and environment of this part of the world is better now than at any time before. The strategic configuration of forces in East Asia is better now than it has been in the last century and a half.

*Speech on
"World Trade
GATT, Group
& Growth" at
the Asia Society
Conference on
"Asia and the
Changing
World Order".
Tokyo, May 13,
1993*

*On US refusal
to accept EAEC
because it was
not included.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 20,
1993*

I can't imagine the United States being an Asian country. For that reason they could not be a member.

*Response as to
why the US was
still unclear
about EAEC.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 20,
1993*

It is very difficult for us to convince people who have decided not to be convinced.

*Speech at the
Asia Society
Conference on
"Asia and the
Changing
World Order".
Tokyo, May 13,
1993*

In proposing the East Asia Economic Group we are not only not proposing a closed, inward-looking trading bloc for East Asia but we are not even proposing any kind of trading bloc for East Asia.

We are not advocating a preferential trading arrangement, or a free trade area, or a customs union, or a common market or an economic union for East Asia.

What we wish to see is the establishment of a loose consultative forum for the economies of the region. This forum should have both a regional agenda and an extra-regional agenda.

For what it is worth, let me set out what I think should be the design parameters for the EAEC-design parameters which probably will be equally relevant to whatever other East Asian Economic co-operation process is undertaken in the years ahead.

First, we should be concerned with both a regional and an extra-regional agenda.

Secondly, with regard to both the internal and external dimensions, although trade is crucially important, we should not be confined to trade. In East Asia especially, there is also much that can be done with regard to optimising joint development zones, investment, technology, tourism, even labour flows. The areas for co-operation - from privatisation to infrastructure development - are too many to enumerate.

Third, on matter related to world trade, we must be champions of free and fair trade.

Fourth, we must champion the cause of open regionalism. If we agree to do something on regional trade, we must ensure that no new or higher measure of protection and discrimination should be introduced against those outside East Asia.

Fifth, we should aspire to be a model for true North-South co-operation.

Sixth, we must seek to contribute to a sense of security and well being on the part of all the economies of East Asia.

Seventh, whatever schemes of co-operation we embark upon must be rounded upon the principles of mutual benefit, mutual respect, egalitarianism, consensus and democracy. Each one of these principles is basic.

At the same time, that we pursue these ends, we should ensure that we are not confrontationist, that we are not bullied and intimidated, that we do not damage Asean, Apec, the South Pacific Forum and other established processes, that we do not allow others to divide the Pacific, Asean or East Asia, and that we are not cowed from speaking out against racism, exclusivism and attempts to create closed trading blocs.

*Opening the
Pacific Rim
Business
Collaboration
Symposium.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 6,
1993*

The EAEC is a result of and intended for open regionalism. On the one hand it recognises the need for regional co-operation and integration and on the other it promotes free trade.

*Second summit
of the group of
G 15 nations.
Caracas,
November 27,
1991*

The North must accept the legitimate rights of other nations. When they fortify themselves economically behind trade blocs, they must accept that others also have a right, at least, to raise their voices in defence of their interest. Yet the East Asians are not allowed even to consult each other or indeed to call themselves East Asians. The United States rejects and opposes vehemently the East Asia Economic Caucus or EAEC and demands that Japan and South Korea dissociate themselves from the formation of this consultative group. South Korea is told that it owes a debt of blood to the United States and it owes nothing to Malaysia and should therefore toe the U.S. line.

There will be no development if the poor countries are not allowed to extract their natural wealth.

The only way for them to develop and yet avoid damage to the environment is for them to receive substantial material help. To ask the poor to help the rich is against all human principles of charity and fairness.

Fear by the North of environmental degradation provides the South the leverage that did not exist before. It is fully justified for us to approach it this way. Unless there is a sharing of the controls in a broader based and more democratic control structure and a more supportive economic international environment, forever the playing field will not be a level one. Forever will the South be at the bottom of the heap.

Now as we seek to open up our lands for modern farming, for the generation of power and for industrialisation, a whole host of environmentalists from the industrialised countries have descended upon us to agitate our people about preserving the natural beauty of our tropical forests and so on. Certainly, we want to preserve our forests. Certainly we want to maintain our clean atmosphere. But make no mistake: it will not be at the expense of the living conditions of our people. We will not accept a situation where our rural people live in poverty and misery so that the rich, when they come by, can say "what unspoilt beauty", then tip the "happy" native children 10 cents for posing in front of a

*Official
opening of the
Second
Ministerial
Conference of
Developing
Countries on
the
Environment.
Kuala Lumpur,
April 27, 1992*

*39th Session of
United Nations
General
Assembly.
New York,
October 10,
1984*

thatched hut, and then go their comfortable way. Preserving the environment requires money which we will not have unless we develop. We fully intend to develop and it is we, and we alone, who will make the judgement about environmental standards and about the preservation of our natural beauty which we, surely more than anyone else, have an interest in preserving. Help the poor countries to develop economically and the environment will be taken care of. Being poor in a beautiful environment does not mitigate poverty.

*Second summit
of the group of
G 15 nations.
Caracas,
November 27,
1991*

Historically and currently, the North is the principal culprit for global environmental degradation. Nothing illustrates this better than the fact that presently, the rich which make up less than 20 percent of the global population are responsible for 80 percent of the greenhouse gas emissions. And, the largest industrial power is responsible for 30 percent of carbon dioxide emissions. While nearly 1.5 billion people live in abject poverty in developing countries, the North continues with its wasteful polluting lifestyles. Still the Governments and the NGOs of the developed countries working through their cohorts in the developing countries have succeeded in deflecting attention from massive pollution by the developed nations.

By itself the enlarged European Community will be sufficiently big to be totally independent economy-wise from the rest of the world. They would have all the raw materials and all the manufacturing technology to sustain their economic growth and well-being. With no threat of an East-West War they will need no allies outside their community. A Fortress Europe is not a far-fetched idea. It is a distinct possibility. Asians may be kept out of the European market. Perhaps this is too pessimistic a picture. But in business we always have a worse case scenario. And if ASEAN nations think of this scenario, they cannot be condemned for being alarmist. After all when we predict a worse case scenario we know some part of it is likely to come true. And even some part can do a lot of damage. Certainly a Fortress Europe will damage the growth rate of ASEAN nations.

*"Asean in the 1990s and Beyond".
Council of Foreign Relations.
New York,
September 26,
1991*

The European Economic Community represents a regional grouping of nations that has for long exerted considerable economic influence on world trade and investments. Some members of the EEC have in the past had a role as the colonial masters of some of the ASEAN countries. The EEC has unfortunately also used its collective strength to deprive ASEAN and other developing nations from a share of the rich markets in Europe, even for manufactured products that are based on the natural resources of these developing nations. I make this statement to you because we need to face this truth if we are to make meetings such as this worthwhile.

*Opening
ASEAN-EEC
Industrial
Sectoral
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
February 28,
1983*

*Meeting of
ASEAN
Economic
Ministers.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 7, 1991*

Forest fires are more damaging than the controlled extraction of timber. Forest fires destroy everything, every species of trees and plants, animals and insects and whatever else that thrive in the tropical forests. Forest fires lay bare tens of thousands of acres of land which will be leached and washed into the rivers when the rains come. The people who either live in the forests or depend on it for their daily bowl of rice are rendered destitute; some losing their homes and even their lives. And when forests burn, tons of carbon dioxide and probably other noxious gases are released into the atmosphere. In other words, the pollution of the environment by fires in the tropical forests is far, far greater than that caused by the extraction of timber.

But whereas the whole Western world is in an uproar over our extraction of tropical timber and threatens to boycott our produce and destroy our economies, there is not a squeak about the forest fires which periodically plague us. Perhaps it is because the haze does not spread to their countries. Perhaps it is because they cannot sound noble as they do when they champion the Penans.

However, our experience has shown that free trade is more honoured by words than by deeds. Rising protectionism, lack of policy coordination among developed countries on monetary matters, the slow progress towards agreement at the new Uruguay round of the GATT negotiations, and above all, the emergence of new trading blocks such as NAFTA and the unified markets of EC, render free trade almost meaningless. For trading nations like Malaysia it means that growth and development will be retarded.

Free trade must be universal and must be so structured that it will be possible for the poor to grow and become developed.

*International
Conference on
Malaysia :
Powerhouse of
the Nineties.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 15,
1993*

*Speech on
"Co - operation
and
Competition in
the Pacific"
organised by
the Chilean
Council for
International
Relations.
Santiago,
June 20, 1991*

*Opening the
SOUTH-
SOUTH II
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
May 5, 1986*

The seven major industrialised countries of the North are today meeting in Tokyo at their Annual Economic Summit. Their deliberations and decisions, whether these relate to the debt problems, interest rates, protectionism, exchange rates or to global liquidity, will all have far-reaching impact on the global economy. And yet we in the South whose lives will be crucially affected by the decisions of this summit will have absolutely no say in their deliberations.

*Royal Institute
of International
Affairs.
London,
July 21, 1987*

For a long time, the South or the developing countries begged for a New International Economic Order. The North saw in this another attempt to extract aid from them. Accordingly they formed the Group of Seven and imposed a New International Economic Order of their own. It must be painfully obvious that it is not working. It fails to solve even the problems between the members of the Group. Why else should the U.S. clamour for its very own protectionist policy if the currency manipulation and other measures adopted by the Group of Seven had worked?

Malaysia would like to propose to the world community a comprehensive environmentally beneficial programme involving the greening of the world. As a first step, we call upon the global community to target at least 30 percent of the Earth's terrestrial area to be greened by the year 2000. The world now has 27.6 percent of its land under forest cover and we need only increase this by 2.4 percent over the next eight years. This is clearly not an unreasonable target

I call upon the world community to urgently establish a Global Fund to support this global greening target. The Fund would serve to finance reforestation and afforestation programmes as well as forest rehabilitation and maintenance. Contributions to the fund should be based on the population, wealth, and the ability to meet greening targets as well as other relevant factors. Countries which have levels of carbon dioxide emissions that exceed a defined threshold should pay on the basis of an agreed schedule. However nothing in these proposals must compromise the principle of the sovereign right to development.

*Official
opening of the
Second
Ministerial
Conference of
Developing
Countries on
Environment
and
Development.
Kuala Lumpur,
April 27, 1992*

*Speech at the
Asia Society
Conference on
"Asia and the
Changing
World Order".
Tokyo, May 13,
1993*

Whether we realise it or not, the world is already in a growth crisis.

If the world does not do what must be done, the 1990s will see a prolonged growth crisis. I do not see the coming of a second great depression. But the prospects of prolonged anaemic growth are very real indeed.

The consequences will be profound and global. Any of the political, economic and social advances of the last few decades could be wiped out.

Japan is now in deep trouble. But the real economic crisis of the developed nations that the whole world has to grievously worry about lies in Europe and North America.

There may now be disagreement only about whether there is an albatross or an elephant around the neck of the great German economy. The United States has structural problems which are of the most intractable and fundamental kind.

Much of these problems is due to an unwillingness to face facts. And the facts are that you cannot live beyond your means.

The decision to form the Group of 15, or G 15 as some would call it, was announced in Belgrade in September 1989. Heads of State and Government of like-minded countries attending the Non-Aligned Summit decided that a group of fifteen developing countries should sit in conference to discuss and find solutions to the problems besetting us in the South.

Contrary to what some quarters may think, the G 15 was not formed as a counter to the Group of 7 industrialised countries of the North. I wish to stress here, lest our gathering here is misunderstood by others, that we are not self-appointed arbiters and regulators of the world's economic affairs, neither are we conspirators against the North. Rather we have come together to consult, to exchange views and to explore the potential, which is largely untapped, for South-South cooperation. We would also like as a group to foster dialogue with the North, the absence of which has caused the economic gap between North and South to widen further since the first North - South dialogue failed.

We fully realise that we are weak and we are very dependent on the North. But we do hope that we will be allowed to speak freely, for we feel that there should be democracy not only within nations but also between nations. To castigate us and to twist our arms because we exercise the much touted freedom of expression is to deny democracy in the relationship between peoples and nations. To deny us our views by deliberately censoring them by whatever means is to make a mockery of the freedom of the press about which we hear so much.

*First meeting of
Heads of
Government of
G15 Non-
Aligned
nations.
Kuala Lumpur,
June 1, 1990*

*Commenting on
US stance on
China's Human
Rights record.
Washington,
May 7, 1994*

I told President Clinton that one should not apply pressure, one should try to convince by pointing out the rights and wrongs rather than try to do anything that might be interpreted as arm-twisting and that does not apply only to China but to any country.

*On the
unwillingness of
US to act against
Serbs in Bosnia.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 20,
1993*

Making a nuisance of their claim that they are concerned for human rights.

*48th Plenary
Session of the
United Nations
General Assembly.
New York,
October 1, 1993*

We do subscribe to the universality of human rights but not to the irresponsible variety propounded by the West. Human rights is not a license to do anything without regard to the rights of others. The rights of the majority are just as valid as the rights of the minority or the individual. A society has a right to protect itself from the unbridled exercise of rights by individuals or a minority which in the West has contributed to the collapse of morality and the structure of human society.

*Speech at the 9th
Conference of
Heads of Non -
Aligned countries.
Belgrade,
September 4, 1989*

The developed countries have now appointed themselves the arbiter of human rights worldwide. In the name of human rights they have applied all kinds of pressures on countries unable to defend themselves. Every now and again new forms of human rights are invented and any country found defaulting is subjected to vile publicity and other repressive measures.

Having been responsible for the killing and torture of millions in the past, they now adopt a holier than thou attitude and want to impose their new-found ideas on human rights on the rest of the world. Although the Christian missionaries have largely disappeared, they have now been replaced by the equally fanatical 'crusading environmentalists' and 'self-appointed human rights fighters' who would rather have disruptive civil wars in the poor nations than permit them to 'violate the latest in human rights'.

Human rights as defined by the West is meaningless if there is no roof over our heads, no food on our tables and no schools for our children.

Nobody can claim to have the monopoly of wisdom to determine what is right and proper for all countries and peoples. It would be condescending, to say the least, and suspect for the West to preach human rights to us in the East.

If the West cares for human rights, then do not deny us the right to progress to the level of the Caucasian Europeans. If we are denied this while the East Europeans are helped to achieve developed status then we must conclude that colour and race still influence the thinking of the West.

*9th Conference of
Head of
Non-Aligned
countries.
Belgrade,
September 4,
1989*

*24th Asean
Ministerial
meeting.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 19, 1991*

*Concluding
statement in
speech delivered
on "Asean in the
1990s and
Beyond". Council
of Foreign
Relations.
New York,
September 26,
1991*

*On the suffering
and trauma of
the independent
south nations
plagued by low
prices for goods,
mounting debts
and decline in
growth rates.*

*Opening the
SOUTH -*

SOUTH II

Conference.

Kuala Lumpur,

May 5, 1986

We have won the right to govern our own countries but whether we are independent is another thing. Economically, of course, we have never been independent. We have no control over transport and insurance, marketing and prices and at times even over production. Our situation can only be described as deplorable. Before we can make it any better, we must prevent it from getting worse

It is frightening to realise that we are not in charge of ourselves and that a few countries, indeed a handful of people can make or break us.

The fact is that the international economic system is under severe strain, more than it has ever been. The inequities of the international economic system have never been so stark. There is recession in the North, aid flows have been reduced and debt, poverty, hunger and disease in the south have spread and deepened.

Furthermore, the preachers of free trade and multilateralism have now become the biggest heretics. We see this in the formation of trade blocs in the North, in the imposition of national laws beyond the borders of the powerful and in the discriminatory applications of trade restrictions. We see this in the various conditionalities imposed on trade with the developed North. We see this in the pressure applied and the stands taken at multidistorted reporting of the views and affairs of the South by the much vaunted free press of the North which control worldwide dissemination of news.

*Second Summit
of G 15
nations.
Caracas,
November 27,
1991*

*Speech on
"International
Security in
1984, How can
we unblock the
situation".
January 28,
1984*

Basically international security is a human relations problem. It is a problem of how to get along with the other fellow - a fellow whom you cannot bully into accepting you on your terms.

As the economy of the developing countries improve, the grounds for subversion will be reduced. Money will be spent less on arms and more on consumer goods. A feeling of security will pervade. Tensions will be reduced and the security situation will be less of a problem both for the nations concerned, and also the self-appointed policemen of the world - the super powers.

Malaysia as a member of the Security Council has supported the adoption of Resolution 678 at a meeting of the Security Council today. The resolution authorises member states of the United Nations to use all necessary means to uphold and implement Security Council Resolution 660, which condemns Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and which demands the withdrawal of Iraq forces from Kuwait, and all subsequent resolutions of the Security Council to restore international peace and security in the area.

This has not been an easy decision for the Malaysian Government to make. The Government has considered very carefully all the various factors regarding the situation between Iraq and Kuwait before arriving at its decision

..... Unfortunately and much to our regret, Iraq has not evinced any willingness to comply with the resolutions calling for peaceful and unconditional withdrawal and restoration of Kuwait to its legitimate Government and people.

We therefore share the view that Iraq should be reminded of its obligations to the United Nations Charter and international law and that a final opportunity be given to Iraq to adhere to the ten previous resolutions adopted by the Council, within a definite time frame before further action is taken. It is now for Iraq to make possible a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis which started with its invasion of Kuwait.

Statement on Malaysia's support for the UN Security Council Resolution 678. During Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Malaysia was a non-permanent member of UN Security Council. The Resolution paved way for the eventual invasion by multi-national forces and liberation of Kuwait. Kuala Lumpur, November 29, 1990

..... We strongly urge Iraq to take heed of and abide by this urgent call of the international community to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Kuwait before 15th January 1991. It is our fervent hope that the use of force can be avoided. It is essential that Iraq respond positively and comply with this resolution to avoid war.

..... It is a matter of record that Malaysia has consistently condemned any and every act of aggression committed by one country over another. We do not condone nor accept the use of force in the settlement of disputes between states, let alone an outright military invasion. This is why Malaysia has given its support to Security Council Resolution 678.

Unless and until we stop dividing knowledge into the religious and the secular, unless we regard all knowledge as faith enhancing and therefore not only permissible but vital to the Muslims and their faith, we are never ever going to rebuild Islamic civilisation. Worst still, we are going to remain in the modern equivalent of the Dark Ages.

The civilisation that we build must not be for the purpose of confronting other societies or civilisations. It should contribute towards the sum total of human progress. It should show the compatibility and balance between the spiritual and the material, between progress and moral values, between religion and worldly concerns.

It should provide the alternative to a world that has so obviously lost its direction. It should be a viable and acceptable alternative, based on reasoned arguments rather than blind faith in certain tendentious interpretations of Islam

..... It is sad that anarchy or at least bad government prevails today in most Muslim countries. We are quite unstable. Unseemly struggles for power take place everywhere, resulting in millions being killed or forced to migrate, properties being destroyed, anarchy prevailing, food being so short that death from starvation becomes almost a regular feature of some Muslim countries. Still the fighting and the conflicts go on simply because one person or one group wants to grab power. It is to our utter shame that the faithful have to appeal to the non-believers to help bring about peace or to feed the starving.

*Opening
ceremony of the
"World Islamic
Civilisation".
Kuala Lumpur,
June 18, 1994*

*37th session of
the UN General
Assembly.
New York,
September 29,
1982*

Israel is a bully. If it is any bigger or stronger the world will not be safe. I would therefore, like to call upon the United States, as the main supplier of weapons to Israel, to consider its position. Those weapons are for nothing less than murder.

Apart from its systematic and premeditated use of lethal and sadistic weapons on occupied Palestine and Arab territories, Israel continues to propagate the myth of the non-existence of the Palestinian people and thereby frustrate all peaceful efforts to find a just and enduring settlement of the West Asian conflict. Indeed, the lesson we have learned from the Israel invasion of neighbouring Lebanon and the destruction of Beirut is that if Israel is not stopped the West Asia problem will not only continue but it will escalate until we are all swallowed up in the conflagration.

*On why
Malaysia is
reluctant to
establish
diplomatic ties
with Israel.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 13,
1994*

We're not too satisfied with Israel's treatment of the Palestine government and its leader Yasser Arafat.

Malaysia feels that Arafat should have been accorded the treatment befitting that for other heads of state but what was happening was Israel still wanted to retain authority in the areas given to him.

Malaysia hopes Israel will change its attitude with regards to the people's future and sovereignty of the state of Palestine.

Actually Malaya and her people were richer than Japan and her people after the Second World War. However, the Japanese are now much richer than Malaysians. They are not only rich in money but also in ideas and the capability to do things which Westerners are not capable of doing. The automobile industry is now fully monopolised by Japan so much so that the made-in-America cars are actually manufactured by Japanese.

If Japanese are capable of mastering modern technology, why can't we? Are Japanese any better than us? So, what makes them successful? The reason is, they have the determination and values which are in line with the teachings of Islam, although they are not Muslims themselves. They are far-sighted and are willing to strive for success, not only today but also in the future. Besides, they strive to further improve their success.

They do not pay out high dividends. Managers in Japan too do not reap millions of dollars in profit as what happens in America. They are very loyal to their companies, unlike their counterparts in America, who will join another company if the offer is good. Japanese are not tempted by quick profits and that is why they can compete with the United States and Europe today.

*"The meaning
of Vision 2020".
Seremban,
May 26, 1991*

*Speech at the
39th Session of
the United
Nations General
Assembly.
New York,
October 10,
1984*

Why cannot we instead turn to each other and learn from one another, from our respective historical experiences, from our dreams and hopes and fears. Let us find charity in our hearts, let Christians and Jews and agnostics alike find charity in their hearts - to recognise what is going on in the Islamic world for what it really is, a search for spiritual succour in a world that is confused and troubled. Let us be rid of hatred, of the anti-Islam propaganda of bitterness and prejudice that the Zionists continue to spew

Let us study each other's true teachings. Let us be true to those teachings. God willing, the great understanding that this will generate will help Jews and Christian and Muslims alike to contribute to, first of all, peace in the Middle East, and to greater understanding in the world. It will at the very least stop the machinations of those with selfish and narrow racist ends who are seeking to exploit ignorance and suspicion and prejudice. It will be a development of historic significance.

There are those who say that “if it ain’t broke, don’t fix it”. Most of us in East Asia believe in the “Kaizen” principle: that improvement should come not with one great leap but by continuous little steps. We have a legitimate right to want our region to be a zone of sustained co-operative peace and prosperity, living in productive harmony. If this will take a hundred years, the sooner we start the better. And it is best to start in the most propitious of circumstances.

*Speech at the
Asia Society
Conference on
“Asia and the
Changing
World Order”.
Tokyo, May 13,
1993*

*Dinner speech
in honour of
North Korean
Prime Minister
Li Jong Ok.
Kuala Lumpur,
February 11,
1982*

It is our desire to see the emergence of a coalition Government that is truly representative of the people of Kampuchea. It is our hope that the parties concerned will work towards the early return of peace and stability so that the countries in the region can embark on national development and build a new era of friendly and cooperative relations for our mutual benefit.

*Expressing
hope for the
return of Prince
Norodom
Sihanouk to
Kampuchea and
establishment of
a free nation.
United Nations
General
Assembly.
New York,
September 29,
1982*

We await with keen anticipation his triumphant return to Kampuchea to restore the freedom and independence of that country and the honour and dignity of the Kampuchean people.

The problem that besets Kampuchea is simple - it is being occupied by some 200,000 foreign troops. Explanation as to the reason why is irrelevant. The fact is that the Vietnamese forces in irresistible strength marched into Kampuchea and installed a puppet regime. And having done so the Vietnamese army stayed on to prop up that regime.

*7th Conference
of Heads of
State and
Government of
Non-Aligned
Countries.
New Delhi,
March 8, 1983*

Obviously, the people of Kampuchea do not support that regime, or why else is it necessary to have an occupation force. That a lot of Kampucheans have left their own country is further testimony that they do not support that regime or the occupation forces. That the Kampuchean refugees are willing to join up with the Coalition Government led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk proves beyond any reasonable doubt that they do not want the Heng Samrin regime or his Vietnamese backers.

Yet Vietnam, and some countries, have preferred to ignore that Kampuchean independence is being violated, that all the principles that have been espoused by the Non - Aligned Movement have been ignored. Such is the fate of Kampuchea, and its leader, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, one of the founders of the Movement who sat with the late President Nasser and the late Pandit Nehru in Bandung.

*Dinner speech
in honour of
North Korean
Prime Minister
Li Jong Ok.
Kuala Lumpur,
February 11,
1982*

Southeast Asia and the Korean Peninsular are strategically sensitive areas which have been the theatres of two major wars in the second half this century. Although these wars are over, the geo-political factors that contributed to them are ever present and still causing instability in the two regions. The exploitation of these geo-political factors can be hastened if the states within these regions should become themselves vulnerable through their lack of trust and cooperation and cohesion.

The Langkawi Declaration recognises that environmental problems transcend national boundaries. Therefore there is a need for all nations to cooperate if these environmental problems are to be solved. The declaration promotes afforestation in developing countries to arrest the deterioration of land and water resources. It also calls on countries to upgrade efforts in sustainable forestry. It calls for the support of activities related to the conservation of biological diversity and genetic resources including the conservation of significant areas of virgin forests and other habitats. The unanimity with which this document was supported demonstrates the oneness and the will of the Commonwealth nations to carry out and implement the terms of the Declaration.

*Expanding on
the scope of the
Langkawi
Declaration
which was
adopted by the
Commonwealth
Heads of
Government
Meeting
(CHOGM) in
October, 1989.
Opening of the
International
Conference on
Biodiversity.
Kuala Lumpur,
June 12, 1990*

*United Nations
General
Assembly.
New York,
September 29,
1982*

The seas and the sea-beds are undoubtedly going to be the source of wealth for the future. There is no reason why the minerals and other resources presently found on the exposed surfaces of the planet will not be found in the sea-beds. The problem is, of course, one of exploration and extraction. The high cost and the sophisticated technology required will be well beyond the capacity of the poor nations. Unless they can have a share as of right whenever this wealth is extracted the gap between them and the rich nations is going to widen even more. When finally they do have the capacity much of the readily accessible wealth would have been exhausted. It is hoped that with the agreement on the Law of the Sea the poor nations will get their fair share.

Although our admiration and praise for his commitment and dedication towards South African nationalism are boundless, we deeply regret that such a national hero who pursued a legitimate cause for the sake of his people has been unjustly imprisoned for life by the merciless white minority regime of South Africa.

His patience with his captors and continued commitment to a multi-racial South Africa based on democratic principles not only reflect his benign nature and pragmatic approach but also his conviction on the cause of his freedom struggle for his people and for a democratic South Africa in accordance with international norms and principles. As late as early 1984 Nelson Mandela rejected any trading of his release from imprisonment for a renunciation of violence by the ANC (African National Congress).

To many of the freedom fighters both inside and outside of South Africa Nelson Mandela's captivity provides greater inspiration and resolve to fight for freedom from apartheid and white minority rule.

*Statement on
the occasion of
the 70th
birthday of
imprisoned
African
National
Congress leader
Nelson
Mandela.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 18, 1988*

*Speech at
dinner hosted
by National
Front in
honour of
Nelson
Mandela.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 3,
1990*

This evening is indeed an historic occasion for Malaysia - historic because we are able to meet in person a giant of a man whose very name MANDELA has come to symbolise the struggle by the people of South Africa for freedom, for democracy and for basic human rights. For many of us you have come to epitomise fortitude and perseverance. We can see for ourselves that your long years of imprisonment have only served to strengthen your spirit, your determination and your commitment to the cause of dismantling apartheid and bringing democracy and justice to the peoples of South Africa.

Malaysia has been a staunch supporter of the anti-apartheid cause. We have followed with concern the struggle of the people of South Africa for freedom and for democracy. We have shared in spirit the pain and the sufferings which you and your colleagues have gone through in your years of imprisonment in the bid to pursue your cause. Like you, we have never lost faith that the day will come when democracy will be upheld in South Africa.

The Minister of Finance in any country has an enormous responsibility. Whether the people or the country prospers or not depends very much on the skills of the Minister of Finance, on the power and influence he wields. It is not just having money that counts. It is how that money is spent and invested that will determine whether the country will develop and grow or regress and wither away. Of course, if the Minister of Finance has no money at all, there is precious little that he can do.

*'Commonwealth
Finance
Ministers'
meeting.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 9,
1991*



"When the time comes that there should be a change, I'm sure that change would not disrupt the even progress in the country. Malaysia, ruled by the same party since independence, had four different Prime Ministers, including myself, and the changes have taken place without undue problem or disruptions".

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

*Opening the
9th Convention
of Malaysian
Economic
Association.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 17,
1987*

It has become a cliché that money talks. Over the past year, the talks have been so noisy as to be deafening. First the US dollar and interest rates rocketed up. Then there was a screeching fall. Then, the cries of “foul play” on Wall Street following the Ivan Boesky scandals, not to mention the “Big Bang” in London. More recently, we all heard the stock markets, led by Wall Street, ripping through the roof. This was followed by a screaming dive back through the roof and down to somewhere below the basement. All this, while real business i.e. the production and marketing of goods and services were all but forgotten. Good performance and dividends are irrelevant when much more can be made selling pieces of paper with imaginary values. The modern commodities are money and shares, the purchase and sales of which far exceeds real world trade in goods and services over any time period. When currencies become goods and are so traded, something must be fundamentally wrong.

The greatest achievement of the post-war years is the liberation of so many colonial territories. How tragic it would be if the good work done by far-sighted leaders of those years are negated by a slide towards a new and no less debilitating form of imperialism. We do not like to talk of neo-colonialism. A lot of work has gone into discrediting the word. But neo-colonialism does exist. The term is not important but the fact is.

*5th Session of
Interaction
Council.
Kuala Lumpur,
April 19, 1987*

ASEAN-US
Economic
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 18,
1981

What we need today, if we are to achieve some semblance of a fair distribution of international wealth, is sincerity based on true friendship and a clear understanding of the moral obligations that we all have towards each other. It is said that after years of talking of a New International Economic Order we have achieved very little beyond talking. More of such talk, even if heads of States and heads of Governments are involved, will not get us very far. What we need is sincere dialogue, based on a firm commitment to resolve issues and solve problems. The political will to co-operate must be clearly laid down, so that officials and businessmen who are really involved in the day-to-day running of the economies of the world can then translate the ideas to promote the common good into reality on the ground.

While regional peace and security are essential preconditions for our economic growth, the new world order, which we should strive for, is not only one that is free from the threat of war but it should also be a world free from poverty, hunger and diseases as well as an order which promotes equal economic opportunity and easy access to modern technology for all countries and peoples. And, most important of all, it should be a world order which recognises that countries and peoples can and must be allowed to maximise their national political, economic and social potentials in ways compatible with their historical, cultural and national circumstances.

*Opening the
24th Asean
Ministerial
meeting.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 19, 1991*

The world is ripe for 'A New World Order' but it is hoped that this New World Order will not be one that is imposed upon the world by any particular beneficiary of the current revolution. All members of this august body called the United Nations should participate in the shaping of the New World Order if we are to avoid a return of a new colonial era.

*Addressing the
46th Session of
the United
Nations
General
Assembly.
New York,
September 24,
1991*

10th
*Convention of
 the Malaysian
 Economic
 Association.*
*Kuala Lumpur,
 August 7, 1989*

Now a word about the Newly Industrialising Countries, or the Newly Industrialising Economies, or the little dragons and the little tigers. It would seem that some of us would like to be conferred with these titles invented and spread by the western media.

When the term NIC was first used by the media it was regarded as complimentary. It was literally a pat on the back for under-developed countries which had managed to drag themselves up by their bootstraps. Predictably many countries would like to be so categorised - it is good for the national ego.

But the group of 7 rich countries soon latched on to this term to put a brake to these 'Johnny come lately'. By whatever means possible the developing countries must be prevented from becoming developed. Japan had caught them unaware. It became developed while the developed countries were still thinking about people who could only say "Ah-so". They, the developed countries, were not going to let anyone else catch them napping again.

And so countries were categorised as NIC and had their GSP privileges withdrawn, export quotas imposed, currencies revalued upwards and their so-called 'human rights' records scrutinised and invariably found wanting. 'Exploitation' of labour was 'discovered' and 'exposed'. Even the burden of helping other developing countries was pressed upon these NICs.

The effect is to stunt the growth of these countries by reducing their competitiveness and access to markets. The chances are that these countries will languish in their NIC status and never become fully developed.

The problem is that many Malaysians are very anxious to be called an NIC. If we accept the label then we must accept the strictures that go with it. Why are we doing this to ourselves?

Can I call upon fellow Malaysians to refuse the label NIC? We are interested in growing but they can keep the title and what goes with it.

International Conference on "The ASEAN countries and the World Economy". Dr. Mahathir refers to the opening paragraph of Charles Dickens' "Tale of Two Cities" which describes conditions in 1775 Europe. Bali, March 4, 1991

We see a situation today of a dramatic rise in the political, diplomatic and military clout of the US and a severe erosion in its economic position and welfare. We can expect the application of that enhanced political, diplomatic and military clout to shore up the economic position and to enhance the US economic welfare. The increased pressures will be political and social as well as economic. Military adventures cannot be excluded.

We cannot rightly expect the clash of the economic giants - the United States, Japan and the European Community - to attenuate.

We should expect it to escalate, making it incumbent upon us to make sure that we are not squeezed in the middle, and caught in the cross-fire. We should take into our calculations the possibility of greater Eurocentricism, and a greater EC to include the Eastern European countries. We must expect continuing and serious instability in the previously tightly controlled states of the Soviet Socialist Republics and Eastern Europe.

I believe that what Dickens wrote of the Europe of 1775 is superlatively apt in describing our world of the early 1990s. It is indeed the best of times and the worst of times. It is indeed the age of wisdom and the age of foolishness. It is indeed the epoch of belief and the epoch of incredulity. It is indeed the season of Light and the season of Darkness. It is indeed the spring of hope and the winter of despair. We do indeed have everything before us and nothing before us.

The Nineties is just around the corner. With the advancement in technology in the field of transportation and communication, distance and national boundaries will no longer present barriers to doing business. As a result, the decade will see intense competition. There is no doubt that adjustments will need to be made to remain competitive. The rules of survival will be changed. Under this scenario, to achieve success, companies will have to go abroad, wither in search of new markets or to develop new products. They will have to be present in the major markets, namely North America, Western Europe, and the Pacific Rim countries. The new strategy of doing business in the Nineties will also require companies to do more than just setting up plants and conducting business in the host country. They will have to view themselves as part of the community in which they operate and be sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the local community and country. Corporate citizenship means just that - responsibility and concern for the country you are in.

*Inaugural
meeting of the
Malaysia - US
Private Sector
Consultation
Group.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 4,
1989*

*7th Conference
of Heads of
State and
Government of
Non - Aligned
Countries.
New Delhi,
March 8, 1983*

The Non-Aligned Movement is all the more necessary now when the big powers are involved in the game of a balance of terror. Already some countries have been made theatres of war for the practical testing of increasingly lethal weapon systems. Without the Non-Aligned Movement more of us will be fighting each other as pawns or proxies of the committed powers. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to sustain this Movement, and to uphold its ideals and principles, in particular the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of states, respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of nations, peaceful co-existence and non-use of force in resolving inter-state disputes. The observation and respect for these cardinal principles of international relations are indispensable for the preservation of world peace and stability, for the promotion of greater co-operation, cohesion and trust among member countries, and for the overall credibility of the Movement.

NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS

◀ 188

But, so long as the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states is recognised and for so long as the sanctity of sovereign states is respected, then we are willing to co-exist. We do not believe in double standards in the conduct of international relations. We cannot accept commitment to pursue friendly relations on the one plane, and on another, indulge in acts of subversion and terrorism to weaken our national resilience. Relations, if it is to be durable, must be based on the mutually accepted norms of equality and respect. There cannot be any compromise on this.

*Dinner speech
on the occasion
of official visit.
Singapore,
December 17,
1981*

NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AREA (NAFTA)

*"Asean in the
1990s and
Beyond".
Council of
Foreign
Relations.
New York,
September 26,
1991*

Then we have the NAFTA and the germ of an idea for an Enterprise of the Americas. We are told that NAFTA will not be a trade bloc and that the members would continue to trade with the rest of the world.

The United States is the biggest single market in the world. Malaysia's trade with the United States makes up 18 percent of its total trade. While some Malaysian manufacturers enjoy GSP status, others compete unaided in the United States' markets. On the other hand some products, such as palm oil, are actually discriminated against. The other ASEAN countries have nearly the same trade relations with the United States.

What NAFTA does is to let Mexico enjoy unrestricted and tax-free access into the United States. Mexico is a developing country with a huge low-cost labour force. Mexican tax-free goods should enjoy competitive advantage against similar goods coming from distant South East Asian countries. Attracted by this advantage, American manufacturers have already invested in Mexico. Soon the Japanese and the Taiwanese will be investing in all kinds of manufacturing facilities in Mexico.

We wish Mexico well. But investments by American, Japanese, Taiwanese and possibly the Europeans in Mexico will divert much needed funds from South East Asia. Worse still what Mexico produces for the United States' market would be cheaper and more competitive than what the South East Asian countries can produce. Imports into the United States and Canada from Mexico would cut

into the export earnings of South East Asian countries, even if they still get GSP status.

Now consider the Enterprise of the Americas. If the privileges of the NAFTA are extended to all the Central and South American countries, not only will the Americas be self-contained and independent of all resources and products from the rest of the world but the bloc can use its economic strength to bludgeon the non-EC countries into economic submission. Again this may sound too exaggerated. The United States and Canada would not want to do this. But in many instances the United States, in subtle and not so subtle ways, have already been doing a lot of economic arm-twisting.

I hope that NAFTA would not "mutate" and turn into a trade bloc protecting its members with special privileges.

*US-Asean
Council Dinner.
New York,
October 1,
1993*

*Interview with
"The Australian".
Sydney,
March 26, 1993*

But, I doubt if even North Korea would try anything ridiculous like starting a nuclear war. They might go for some kind of conventional attack.

*Commenting
on the death of
North Korean
President Kim
Il Sung and
future of North
Korea.
St. Nazaire,
France, July 10,
1994*

Maybe there will be some political instability initially but they (the North Koreans) will settle down. I hope one day they will open their doors and become a responsible member of the international community like China and Vietnam.

The North is not our intractable enemy. There is little to be gained by an attitude of confrontation. We have to speak the truth. We have to say the obvious. But we will still work with the North, towards a better world order. We must not forget that the North produced such people as Olof Palme, whose untimely death is a grievous loss to all. We have friends in the North and we must strive to work with them however frustrating the effort. God willing, in time we will succeed.

*Opening the
SOUTH -
SOUTH II
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
May 5, 1986*

And yet it should be obvious that the real need is to redress the inequities and economic distress caused by decades of exploitation of the poor by the rich. If a coalition to win a war can be forged, why not a coalition to address the critical issues of the South and to wage war on illiteracy, disease, poverty and deprivation?

*2nd summit of
G 15 nations.
Caracas,
November 27,
1991*

*On the need for
South nations to
build up their
own resilience
instead of
depending on the
rich North. 7th
Conference of
Heads of State
and Government
of Non - Aligned
Countries.
New Delhi,
March 8, 1983*

The North-South Dialogue is no longer the hope of the developing countries. We know now that we cannot squeeze blood from stone. The North is not about to abdicate their role as the aristocrats of the world economies. For as long as the poor economies are incapable of striking back, we are not going to have one bit of concession from them. Therefore, let us stop deluding ourselves.

It needs but one madman, or one mistake, or one bout of nervousness by one man, to literally blow up this planet. Yet, the race to build up even more destructive weapons, continues. Sanity has completely forsaken the leaders of the contending camps.

On the escalation of arms race between the super powers. 7th Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non - Aligned Countries. New Delhi, March 8, 1983

Malaysians are called "barbarians" because we hang convicted white criminals for drug offences, as we hang others for the same crime. What do we call people who threaten to wipe out the whole human race in fulfillment of their war strategy?

Addressing the 41st Session of the United Nations General Assembly. New York, September 29, 1986

The cause of peace cannot be served by wasting scarce resources on nuclear arms. If the super powers stop their nuclear build-up we will not ask them to spend their savings on eradicating poverty, hunger and disease. They can spend it on themselves, by all means, for even that is better than the useless manufacture of these terrible indestructible weapons.

We condemn chemical warfare but must we still have the nuclear weapons around? Are the people who possess them responsible and concerned about the horrendous effect of these weapons and will not use them other than as a deterrent? Who determines when a deterrent is needed?

46th session of the UN General Assembly. New York, September 24, 1991

*Opening the
International
Islamic
Symposium.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 5, 1986*

We Muslims have just missed a golden opportunity to regain our greatness and spread the faith. Since the early seventies we gained great wealth from the bounty of Allah—from the vast reservoirs of oil that are found in the Muslim countries.

Surely Allah had granted us this wealth for the good of Islam and the Muslims. With this wealth we could strengthen the position of the Muslims generally, we could free them from oppression, we could spread the faith and intensify the teachings of Islam among the faithful. With the promotion of true Islamic values we could weld the Ummah into a solid force for good in a world that has become confused by the failures of political ideologies and economic systems.

But the truth is that we did none of these with the wealth that Allah has given us. Every Islamic country squandered its wealth on lavish development, on the purchase of arms and on the support of one Muslim nation or group against another Muslim nation or people. Much of the wealth is invested in countries which have no friendly intention towards the Muslims or to Islam. The money invested eventually find their way to strengthen anti-Islamic forces including the Zionists. It is no secret that vast sums of Muslim wealth are handled and managed by Jewish bankers and managers.

The advent of OPEC had a major impact on world economy. But the North is too smart. The OPEC billions have to be recycled and bankers and financial advisers of the West soon got the profit from oil invested in their countries. Once invested there is no way the OPEC countries can get back their money. Instead the OPEC countries must now ensure the economic success of the rich countries if they want their investments to yield a return. Thus OPEC has not really been able to change the world economic pattern. It has merely become a part of that pattern, albeit a very important and influential part. Today OPEC is wracked by all kinds of internal conflicts, resulting in both a loss of wealth and a loss of initiative. In the meantime the North has learnt to live with alternative energy.

*7th Malaysian
Economic
Convention.
Kuala Lumpur,
January 18,
1983*

*Speech at the
43rd Session of
the United
Nations General
Assembly.
New York,
October 4, 1988*

Outer space, which we reaffirm as the common heritage of mankind should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and we urge that negotiations on the prevention of the militarisation of outer space should begin in earnest.

And so it is no longer strange to talk of Pacific Rim countries or even to propose a Pacific Community. So far we have not gone beyond the stage of talking. And for a long time we will only talk. But it is a subject worth talking. Imagine a community united by a vast ocean instead of a continent. It may seem a little far-fetched except that the physical obstacles are no longer there. What remains are political and cultural obstacles. Yet compared to Europe in the first half of this century and before, there are less political obstacles in the path of a Pacific Community. But cultural obstacles remain and they are powerful and for the moment conclusive.

Ideologies have lost ground now. At this stage in the development of the countries of the Pacific, economics is security, economics is politics, economic forces will decide whether in the concluding decades of the twentieth century we in this part of the world enter an age of Pacific dynamism or an age of Pacific conflict and stagnation. Our justified optimism must say that it will be the former. If we have no illusions, we must admit to ourselves that the path will not be paved with roses and the journey will not be without serious and sometimes severe obstacles.

*Speech at
International
Conference on
Southeast Asia
and Pacific Age
organised by
Association for
the Promotion
of International
Co-operation
Japan, and
Institute of
Strategic and
International
Studies.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 3,
1984*

*"Outlook for
the Pacific
Regions"
International
Monetary
Conference.
Hong Kong,
June 5, 1985*

*7th Conference
of the Heads of
State and
Government of
Non - Aligned
Countries.*

*New Delhi,
March 8, 1983*

A free and sovereign Palestinian state must be created. To this end the PLO cannot be expected to compromise on basic rights and dignity of the people it rightly represents, nor be excluded from any peace process.

*Asian
Conference on
the question of
Palestine.*

*Kuala Lumpur,
May 3, 1983*

The Palestinians are people. They are a distinct entity. They deserve the right to their homeland and to exist as a member of an international community with sovereignty and dignity.

Good sense cannot prevail when the media demands that statements be made by each and everyone before and after each negotiating session. The negotiators are forced to make public stands, to demonstrate how tough they are and how they will not give in even an inch. Having made these stands they were not able to accommodate good sense anymore. In the peace talks in Norway there was no press. And good sense was able to prevail.

On the much publicised failure of the US sponsored PLO - Israel peace talks. Dr. Mahathir is of the opinion that the lesser the publicity the better the chances of success of peace talks. Speech at the 48th Plenary session of the UN General Assembly. New York, October 1, 1993

*Speech at Asia
Society
Conference on
"Asia and the
Changing World
Order".
Tokyo, May 13,
1993*

Peace is best made when there is peace. It is too late to wait until it has broken down. Prosperity is best striven for when there is prosperity. It is too late when nations have their backs to the wall.

*"The Singapore
Lecture 1988"
organised by the
Institute of South
East Asian
Studies.
Singapore,
December 14,
1988*

One might be excused for thinking that for the first time in a long time the world is being confronted by a peace epidemic of sorts.

War, it has been said, has its own momentum. Peace too may possess that quality. I would expect that in the nineties, although new brush wars may break out, the peace momentum will continue.

It might also be noted that just as war has its awesome consequences, peace too will have its enormous threats and problems as powerful nations seek to use other weapons to manipulate in their favour. This is what we are really concerned with.

But for the next few years before the century ends we are likely to have more peace in order to build quite literally a new world. It will be a more truly inter-dependent world where decision-making on the management of the world's economy will not be confined to a few major powers.

People's power is fine. It can remove dictators and corrupt Governments. But power corrupts and people's power can be no less corrupting. Once it is realised that political power can be achieved through getting people on the streets, the potentially corrupt can also resort to this weapon for their own ends. Indeed, the overthrow of the corrupt often results in the installation of another leader who is or becomes equally corrupt. It is easier to overthrow an allegedly corrupt Government than to materialise a government that can rehabilitate the nation.

*International
Conference on
"The Asean
Countries and
the World
Economy".
Bali, March 4,
1991*

*Commenting
on the death of
former Indian
Prime Minister
Rajiv Gandhi
in a bomb
explosion.
Kuching,
May 22, 1991.*

I know Rajiv and I am deeply in grief.

I am saddened that he should die in this way and that such a tragic incident could happen in the world's largest democracy.

It is easy for one to explain the advantages of democracy to the people but could not necessarily ensure the success of democracy if the people practising it did not understand.

The aim of holding elections is to determine who forms the government and who becomes opposition. The elections must be used to explain the benefits of the respective parties but resorting to violence will kill democracy.

The incident also shows how important it is to resolve problems amicably instead of allowing emotions to get out of control.

If there was violence during the elections, the victor would not be able to administer the country peacefully.

*Condolence
message.
Kuala Lumpur,
May 22, 1991*

The death of yet another world leader at the hands of violence and brutality is an outrage that justly deserves the strongest condemnation.

The Al-Quran is clear on the issue of poverty. Poverty is one step before losing faith. And we must remember that poverty is not concerned only with material things but intellectual and other skills also.

*Addressing
staff and
undergraduates
of International
Islamic
University.
Petaling Jaya,
August 24,
1993*

We are always concerned when there is extreme disparity between rich and poor within any country. But in some countries there is no disparity. Everyone is just poor. If we are asked to imagine what poverty is like in these poor nations, we will find it extremely difficult to visualize it accurately. But we need not imagine. Today we see in colourful detail accompanied by sound and motion the extent and horror of human poverty. We see skeletons hobbling around. We see people so ill that we wonder how they survive at all.

*43rd session of
the UN General
Assembly.
New York,
October 4,
1988*

Even if we have to spend billions on weapons, on preserving the beauty of nature, the trees and the forests, the rare insect species, and the other things that we claim will enhance the quality of our life, we have no excuse in this day and age to permit such misery to befall millions of fellow humans.

The response of millions of ordinary people to the appeals for aid to the suffering poor is laudable. But the task is too big for ad hoc charitable efforts. The answer would lie in a scourge of poverty. This civilisation of ours will be condemned by posterity if we can put man on the moon but we cannot give enough help to the needy on earth at only a fraction of the cost.

*General meeting
of Association
of Chinese
Chambers of
Commerce and
Industry.
Kuala Lumpur,
September 2,
1984*

Poverty can only be defeated if sufficient people make money legitimately and pay their taxes, so that Government can launch schemes to upgrade the productivity of the poor. Dole does not eradicate poverty. Like drugs, it only reduces people to becoming dependents. The sole solution to poverty is increased productivity by the poor.

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P O W E R V A C U U M

*On the theory of
"power vacuum"
created as a
result of
withdrawal of
foreign forces
from the region.
Langkawi,
December 5,
1993*

I think the theory should be discarded. There is no need for anyone to step in and act as policeman.

Malaysia believes in press freedom. But that freedom, as with other freedom and rights, must be accompanied by responsibility. We will continue to expect the Malaysian media to be responsible. We will not forego the need to enforce this responsibility.

*48th Plenary
session of the
United Nations
General
Assembly.
New York,
October 1,
1993*

The Third World has suffered much from quote "the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers". While our frontiers have been breached again and again, we have not had the same capacity with regard to the frontiers of the countries which control world media. It is because the exercise of press freedom is so loaded in favour of the developed countries that we have tried to fight for a new world information and communication order.

*International
Chinese
Newspapers
Convention.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 10,
1990*

But although the pen is mightier than the sword, it is generally considered improper for anyone to restrict or discipline the use of the pen. The pen must be free. Any restriction would be considered undemocratic. And indeed this should be so, for any government which restricts the pen must become oppressive over time. The press must be free to criticise government because that is one very important way to stop governments from the misuse of power.

But such is the power of the free press that it can bring down governments by influencing the electorate in a democratic country. And now we come up against another dictum, "Power corrupts,

and absolute power corrupts absolutely". Since the press can wield power which can make or break governments, is it not possible for it to be corrupted? If there is no criticism of press freedom or the press is permitted unlicensed freedom then would not the press be said to wield absolute power and would not it then be absolutely corrupted?

I pose these questions because as one who heads a government, I am of course vested with power. If I am expected by the press to give it the freedom to criticize and condemn, and maybe even bring down the government I head, should not the press, also vested with tremendous power, accept non-press criticism of itself? If the press does not like the government to have absolute power, then by the same token the press must not wield absolute power in moulding public opinion.

*2nd Conference
of Asean
Ministers
responsible for
Information.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 1, 1991*

But, of late, it has even been accepted that lies can be fabricated in the name of freedom of the press. With the increasingly powerful weapons at the disposal of the press, it is entirely possible for the press not only to create totally erroneous views and opinions, but actually to undermine the stability and even the economy of countries. And events have shown that the guardians and practitioners of press freedom are not averse to using this unlimited license. New and more telling ways are continuously being invented so that lies can be accepted as the truth.

We talk so much about human-rights, justice and fair-play, etc. The question that must be asked is whether there is justice and fair-play when only certain people can influence the minds of the world community, and whether human rights is not denied when whole nations are deprived of their right of expression and their freedom to air their views. Does press freedom refer only to the freedom of those who control the press in a country and not to those who control the freedom of the people to air their views in the press? Does freedom of the press exist when only certain nations can air their versions of the truth and others may not?

It is not easy for example to ban a newspaper or expel a journalist. You don't do such things without getting a bashing from the Fourth Estate and those who consider themselves holier than us.

It is not surprising therefore that the English speaking nations largely control the world press. The non-English speaking nations which are also poor cannot have access to the world press to give their views or versions of whatever news are reported about them.

As a consequence, the poor non-English speaking nations feel naked and defenceless. If freedom of the press is to be meaningful, then everyone should be able to present his side of the story. What we are seeing is a one-sided exercise of that story. What we are seeing is a one-sided exercise of the freedom. Those who have no access to the world press have no freedom.

*World Press
Convention.
Kuala Lumpur,
September 18,
1985*

Just as Democracy is not a perfect system for the Governance of man, simply the best of all forms so far invented by man for his Governance, the doctrine of social responsibility with all its imperfections is the best of all forms invented for the guidance of the practice of Press Freedom. The others are simply much worse.

The Press is not an institution created in heaven naturally bestowed with virtue. It is not the unique kingdom of the virtuous. It is made up of and run by men who are moved, like other men, not only by high ideals, but also by base needs and feelings. The ability of the journalist to influence the course of events is out of all proportion to his individual right as a citizen of a democratic society. He is neither especially chosen for his moral superiority nor elected to his post. A Free Press is as prone to corruption as are the other institutions of Democracy. Is this then to be the only institution of Democracy to be completely unfettered?

An irresponsible Press is a negation of the right of the people in a democratic society. If the Press fails to understand this, then it should be made to do so by the people through their elected representatives. To put it in another way, so long as the press is conscious of itself being a potential threat to democracy and conscientiously limits the exercise of its rights, it should be allowed to function without Government interference. But when the Press obviously abuses its rights, then democratic Governments have a duty to put it to right.

Freedom of the press is a myth, a myth invented by the so-called liberal West to serve their own purpose - since they, through their world-wide control of the media, stand to benefit most. Our Press should not subscribe to that kind of freedom, much less be a part of their indirect intellectual hegemony. We should think of what is good for our country and our people as a whole.

*Speech at
dinner hosted
by National
Press Club.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 12,
1981*

R E A R M A M E N T

◀ 206

We have to take a very pragmatic approach to what is sometimes called the danger of rearmament. If the whole world decides to have a check on everybody's arms and actually applies an equitable formula, I think we can stop this danger of rearmament.

*At a press
conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
May 23, 1994*

*Commonwealth
Finance
Ministers'
meeting.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 9, 1991*

But there is now a new twist to the environment conditions. Goods must be recyclable. This will affect the manufactured products exported by the poorer countries which use borrowed technology and have limited capacities to innovate and adjust to new conditions. At the same time, since the poor countries are also the producers of raw material for manufactured goods, recycling will reduce the demand for the raw materials involved, thus making the poor countries even poorer.

The emergence of large and powerful regional economic groupings will however also impact upon the Asia-Pacific and on other developing countries in many other ways. NAFTA alone will have a market of 360 million people with an annual output of US\$6 trillion while the EC will have a market of 340 million people with an output of nearly US\$5 trillion. If these groups remain committed to free trade internally and externally, it would greatly stimulate global economic growth. But let us not forget that these groupings also have the potential to do enormous harm if the fundamental principles of free-trade are sacrificed for political expediency. Even before these groupings took full shape, we have experienced their intemperance. What is there to guarantee that things will not get worse when their influence and weightage increases?

*Speech on
"Cooperation
and
Competition in
the Pacific"
organised by
the Chilean
Council for
International
Relations.
Santiago,
June 20, 1991*

*After Malaysia
barred British
companies from
participating in
Malaysian
government
contracts.*

*February 28,
1994*

They have so often used economic weapons to force us to become democratic, to respect human rights and the environment. This we learn from them. Which means that if they adopt such tactics, so can we.

*Commonwealth
Heads of
Government
meeting,
Nassau,
October 16,
1985*

Cures are always painful. As a doctor I should know. But to perpetuate sufferings is a poor alternative to the temporary pain of a cure. If sanctions can help destroy a despicable policy like apartheid, then sanctions must be applied and they must be applied by those who can hurt most; by the countries with the biggest economic clout. Failure to do so would mean hypocrisy on the part of these countries.

I rejoice over the rapid progress and prosperity of Singapore because it also means that Malaysia will continue to have a happy and stable neighbour. An unhappy Singapore can be destabilising to Malaysia, likewise discontent in Malaysia can affect Singapore. Singapore leaders have spared no effort in developing the Republic into a country with a united citizenry and similarly, we in Malaysia, have been moulding the country into a united and disciplined nation. Singapore's success story in the economic and social fields cannot but be a model for Malaysians rather than an object of envy.

*Dinner speech
on the occasion
of official visit.
Singapore,
December 17,
1981*

*Message
commemorating
"International
Day for the
Elimination of
Racial
Discrimination",
which marked
the 26th
anniversary of
Sharpeville
massacre in
South Africa.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 22, 1986*

As can be gleaned from history, no amount of legislation or brute force can suppress the desire for freedom and equality. Thousands of our African brothers have sacrificed their lives for the just struggle to institute racial equality and justice in their homeland.

The continuing unrest and instability in South Africa stems from the policies of apartheid and racial discrimination brutally imposed by the Pretoria regime. Apartheid has long been condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. As long as the Pretoria regime continues to maintain this evil system, there can be no peace in South Africa

*At the
Commonwealth
Heads of
Government
meeting.
Nassau,
October 16,
1985*

There is no Government like the regime in South Africa. It is a total pariah. It legalises the morally illegal minority. Slavery is freedom. Ghettos are nations. Like Israel, they respect no international norms. Boundaries are not sacred to the racists of South Africa.

And this white racist regime survives in this day and age. And why does it survive? It survives because the people who are fond of criticising alleged racism in developing countries are not prepared to do anything about the most blatantly racist regime in the world.

As a growing economy, we are convinced that the (South East Asia) region provides the centre of growth in the next decade. We stand ready to move forward to the next stage of development.

*World
Economic
Congress
Malaysia,
Kuala Lumpur,
November 6,
1989*

S O U T H K O R E A N S U C C E S S

◀ 213

There is no doubt to my mind that it is the Korean attitude towards work, their loyalty and discipline that have contributed to the economic miracle of the Republic of Korea.

*Speech at
banquet hosted
by President
Chun Doo
Hwan.
Seoul,
August 9, 1983*

*Opening the
SOUTH -
SOUTH II
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
May 5, 1986*

It would be wonderful if all the hundred over countries of the South can stand united and cooperate with each other in order to overcome economic, political and social problems. But the truth is that the scenario can only happen in dreams. Bilateral or group cooperation on the other hand is real and practical. While we wait for the ideal, we should do the possible.

*Formal issue of
the final report
of South
Commission.
Caracas,
August 3, 1990*

I also fully endorse the central philosophy expounded in the context of South-North relations. We must start from the secure foundations of realism. There is very little to be gained in 'taking on the North'. Those of us who believe in South-South cooperation are not conspirators against the North. We are believers in concerting our strength, in taking advantage of the potentials for cooperation between us, in seeking dialogue with the North and a say in the affairs of a world that is ours as much as anyone else's.

It is manifestly clear that for decades the countries of the South have seriously searched for some workable solutions. Nobody could accuse us of being idle and leaving the future of our nations passively to fate. We have broached the concept of cooperation among the South when our attempt for North-South Cooperation met responses too far short of our expectations. However, while everyone is agreed on the need, progress from that understanding to the taking of positive action has been much too slow. The setting up of the South Commission has taken us a while. Should the Commission fulfill its task, and I have no doubt that it will, the action that has to be taken to implement any recommendation is going to be even more time consuming and frustrating. We must therefore be prepared to soldier on and to overcome repeated failures and disappointments. The fact is that the obstacles are not going to be just the political will of the countries of the South. We are up against the traditional patterns of economy set by history.

*2nd meeting of
the South
Commission.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 1, 1988*

*Commonwealth
Finance
Ministers'
meeting.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 9,
1991*

Let us not concentrate only on how successful the operation is and care not whether the patient dies or not. Mr. Gorbachev almost died because he thought that the mere espousal of democracy and the free market would solve all the problems of the Soviet Union. Clearly for the Soviet Union, there is yet no tangible dividends from glasnost and perestroika. The end of the Cold War has so far benefitted only the other party to the war.

Let me be perfectly plain and state that it would be insane for any Pacific state to be complacent about the existence of so much Soviet firepower in the region. At the same time, it would be mad for us in the region to live in a state of continuous fear and to die of fright. It is more reasonable for us to expect the Soviet Union not to use its military capability to directly attack against any state in the Pacific, unless it is seriously or foolishly provoked. And there are no signs that any Pacific state has any irrational desire to indulge in the medieval sport of bear-baiting.

I hope that you will not think that Malaysia has changed its views about the Soviet Union because of what I have just said. We still think the USSR is a bully and we condemn their actions in Afghanistan and in Eastern Europe. We certainly do not approve of their backing of Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea. But we must make some effort to see their rationale for their actions.

*Speech on
"Outlook for
the Pacific
Region".
International
Monetary
Conference.
Hong Kong,
June 3, 1985*

*48th Plenary
session of the
United Nations
General
Assembly.
New York,
October 1,
1993*

But we cannot be cowed into not speaking our minds. If the powerful nations do wrong, we will speak out against them even if they say we are unduly suspicious, that we have an exaggerated sense of our own importance, etc. We can be belittled but we will continue to speak the truth.

Here at the U.N. we will say what we feel we should say. Of course the controlled "free" Western media will not publish it. But the few here will hear us. In any case it is what we achieve that counts with us. We can do without Western approval. Even if the benefit is minimal, the truth must be told sometime.

Too much is being made out of the issue as China and other claimants to some of the islands have established the basis for dialogue on the matter.

We do not claim all the islands. We claim a few underwater atolls. There is therefore no problem with China as it is willing to discuss the matter with us.

But on other parts of the Spratly Islands claimed by others, China feels there should be bilateral negotiations and not multi-lateral negotiations.

*Explaining
Malaysia's stand
on the Spratly
islands issue.
China, Vietnam,
Philippines,
Brunei, Malaysia
had laid claims
to part of the
islands.
Bangkok,
August 21, 1993*

*Speech on
"International
Security in 1984:
How can we
unlock the
situation".
January 28,
1984*

None of the powers can ever gain and maintain absolute superiority in modern weapons for any length of time. Nuclear warhead diplomacy or balance of terror tactics are therefore stupid. Some will say that I am not being original at all. Everyone knows. But the fact is that both the super powers are developing and building weapons and allocating funds obviously in the belief that each can out-terrorise the other.

So the first thing that has to be done is for the world to tell these super powers to convince them in one way or another that they are stupid. This is a tall order, but then we are dealing with a very tall problem.

We need a world where the international community takes decisive action to improve the lot of the world's poor which for many in sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and Latin America have worsened. Unrelenting poverty is still very much with us. With the now permanent debt burden, the chances of the poor rehabilitating themselves without outside understanding, if not help, are bleak.

The new agenda, therefore, should be for a "Supportive World Order" where decisions which affect the vital interests of developing countries are not made by a privileged few in total disregard for the views of the countries concerned. What is needed is a new era of global cooperation in which the interests and views of all countries are given due regard. And, if democracy is the sole acceptable political creed, let there be democracy also in the process of global decision-making.

A Supportive World Order would look at ways to reverse the current unhealthy trends, so that developing countries can have a meaningful share of the wealth of this planet. Any necessary adjustment must not be made only by the South. The North too must adjust for in the end the North will benefit from the prosperity of the South.

*Second Summit
of the G 15
nations.
Caracas,
November 27,
1991*

*Advice to
parties involved
in conflicting
claims in the
South China Sea.
Dr. Mahathir's
view expressed at
a meeting with
Vietnamese First
Deputy Prime
Minister Phan
Van Khai was
conveyed to the
press by
Malaysian
Ambassador to
Japan, Datuk
Mohamed
Khatib Abdul
Hamid.
Tokyo, May 12,
1993*

Negotiations must be based on agreed principles and procedures and once these were agreed, the parties concerned should stick to them and not come up with other conditions.

For example, if it is agreed that the negotiations should be conducted based on legal aspects to resolve the conflicting claims, then parties involved should not introduce a historical basis.

While we should not be selective in our condemnation of terrorism, let us not ignore the fact that policies such as those practised by Israel are based on terror and invite retaliation based on the same psychology of terror. If we are to condemn and act against terrorism, let us not be selective, nor must we resort to it as a counter-measure.

*Addressing 41st
Session of the
United Nations
General
Assembly.
New York,
September 29,
1986*



"It is quite clear that the UN is not a body which protects the weak but merely a tool of the superpowers to serve their political ends".

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

*Opening the
meeting of Asean
Ministers of
Agriculture and
Forestry.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 25, 1994*

When the need to conserve the world's forests was first recognised, the focus was almost exclusively on the tropical forest and its exploitation.

A full-scale and emotive campaign was mounted in the West to ban the use of tropical hardwoods as if temperate land timber had no role at all in maintaining the ecological balance.

The timber tycoons of the North could clear-fell millions of hectares of forest with impunity.

While we are not denying the role played by tropical forests in sustaining the ecological balance, we would like to point out that we do no clear felling. Extraction of timber is controlled.

*Official
opening of the
Second
Ministerial
Conference of
Developing
countries on
Environment.
Kuala Lumpur,
April 27, 1992*

The developed countries have no tropical forest but by involving environmental issues they wish to control the exploitation of forests in developing countries. We in Malaysia are fully aware of the role that the tropical forests are playing in preserving the delicate balance in the environment. We are aware too of the thousands of species of flora and fauna that are to be found only in our forests. We are aware that trees absorb carbon dioxide and give back the precious oxygen without which we will all drop dead.

But we are also acutely conscious that we are a developing country which needs the wealth afforded by our forests. We do not cut our trees

foolishly. We need living space, we need space for agriculture, and we need the money from the sale of our timber. If it is in the interest of the rich that we do not cut down our trees then they must compensate us for the loss of income. The democratic North talk incessantly of fair compensation. They tell our workers to go on strike for "fair" compensation even if it destroys our economy. Well, if we have to service the world's need for oxygen, for ecological balance, then we must be fairly compensated. Or else allow us our right to our timber wealth.

But instead what have the North done? They launched a boycott of our timber. They reason that if they do not buy we will stop cutting our timber. It is so simple that is, if you can ignore the hundreds of thousands of people whose lives depend on the timber industry, and if you can ignore the loss of Government revenue with which we subsidise and support our people, particularly the poor. What the North is doing is not just to preserve the forest but to make Malaysians pay for it. Is this equitable?

Yet the extraction of timber can easily be reduced without making us pay for it. If the rich will pay twice the price, logging can be reduced by half. It is as simple as that.

We cannot be blamed if we think the campaign against tropical timber is because they compete too successfully with the temperate climate timber. Tropical timber destroyed by fire pose no threat to the sale of temperate climate timber but carefully logged timber do. So the forest fires are ignored while bitter condemnation is directed at the logging of tropical forests.

*Questioning the
sincerity of UN
actions for
Bosnia.
Kuala Lumpur,
April 19, 1994*

We can no longer believe that the UN will come to our aid when anything happens to us although we have sent our troops to assist in its peacekeeping missions. It is quite clear that the UN is not a body which protects the weak but merely a tool of the superpowers to serve their political ends.

*Speech at Dinner
in honour of
Canadian Prime
Minister Pierre
Trudeau.
Kuala Lumpur,
January 10,
1983*

The United Nations, where the small and weak countries turn to, especially when confronted with external military aggression, is being deliberately deprived of its powers to prevent and control such aggression. The need to restore faith in the United Nations is very pressing. The United Nations must regain its credibility. I would like to say that countries like Malaysia must help restore the trust and confidence of the international community in this Organisation's role in resolving problems and crises and in maintaining world peace and stability.

But this would be mere rhetoric. What is needed is the full backing of the powerful nations. They must revitalise the organisation which they had created. If the Charter of the United Nations is to have any meaning then the founding nations must be prepared to back the United Nations even though they have lost their ability to manipulate it.

If democracy is to be the only acceptable system of Government within states, shouldn't there be also democracy between the states of the world? In the UN we are equal, but five are more equal than the rest of the 166. Seven countries on their own lay down the laws which affect adversely the economies of others. A few nations on their own have taken it upon themselves to determine the New World Order. Powerful trade blocs demand voluntary restraints and impose laws and rules extra-territorially. Clearly the states of the world are not equal; not in the UN, not anywhere. If democracy is such an equitable concept why must we accept inequality between nations?

If international democracy as represented by the UN is to be meaningful and effective, there must be an infusion of some of the current ideas and realities. The world needs policing, as the Gulf War demonstrated to us. But are we to have selfappointed policeman or are we to have a police force that is beholden to this august body, the UN?

Today individuals in some developed countries consider it their right to tell us how to rule our country. If we don't heed them, then they consider it their right to destroy our economy, impoverish our people and even overthrow our Governments. These people latch on to various causes such as human rights and the environment in order to reimpose colonial rule on us. They are helped by the Western media which also consider it their duty to tell us how to run our country. All these combine to make independence almost meaningless. Our only hope lies in the democratisation of the UN, especially as the option to defect to the other side is no longer available to us. We want to

*46th session of
UN General
Assembly.
New York,
September 24,
1991*

remain independent but we also want to conform to international norms as determined not by some NGOs or so called advanced democracies, but by all the nations of the world. If we default then it is the UN and not some Robin Hoods which should chastise us.



"If the West cares for human rights then do not deny us the right to progress to the level of the Caucasian Europeans".

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

For example, the Third World is constantly being criticised for their systems of inequality, for their unfair distribution of wealth, for the non-egalitarian character of their states. I concede that many are guilty on all counts. But is the West quite as innocent of these charges as it makes out to be? Let me take the example of the United States, a proud country which has many things to be proud about.

*Speech at
Trinity College.
Oxford,
April 19, 1985*

In the United States, one estimate is that one fifth of one percent of the American population own almost 60 per cent of the wealth of America. The super-rich, less than two per cent, own 80 per cent of all stock, 100 per cent of all state and municipal bonds and 88 per cent of corporate bonds. In the United States there are some sixty billionaires and more than 100,000 millionaires. Two hundred companies account for some 80 per cent of all resources used in manufacturing. If you will allow me to quote Newsweek, not one of my favorite magazine, "the top 20 per cent of Americans own 80 per cent of all that can be privately owned in the United States and the bottom 25 per cent owns nothing (many of them, in fact, have debts that exceed their assets)". It is true that many Americans own shares. But the many own very few and the very few own a great many.

If there is constant talk that in Third World countries a few families corner massive wealth, and massive political power, something that is of course unjust, let us not forget that the DuPont family in America controls eight of the forty largest defence contractors and grossed over US\$15 billion in defence contracts during the Vietnam War. The DuPonts are said to control ten billion-dollar

corporations including General Motors, Coca Cola, Boeing and United Brands. Over a million Americans work for the DuPonts who are said to be the biggest contributors to the Republican presidential campaign.

Even more powerful than the DuPonts are the Rockefellers. They are said to control five of the twelve largest oil companies and four of the largest banks in the world. At one time or another the Rockefellers or their close associates have occupied the offices of the President, Vice-President, Secretaries of State, Commerce, Defence and many other cabinet posts, the Federal Reserve Board, the governorship of several states, key positions in the CIA, the US Senate and the House of Representatives.

What happened to Nixon and his band of merry men? Resignation was enough punishment for the leader. Herbert Kalmbach, Jeb Magruder and John Dean were handed sentences of between four to six months. Richard Kleindienst, once Attorney General, the highest legal officer in the land, who was guilty of perjury before a Senate committee was given a thirty-day suspended sentence and a US\$100 fine and a commendation for distinguished service from an American court. By and large the high and the mighty are spared.

The United States has threatened to limit imports or apply countervailing duties or penalise countries for anything that the United States unilaterally decide as infringements of the many regulations that govern trade with the United States. Trade is restricted severely until countries sign the protection of intellectual property agreements. Countries are put on the "Watch List" which is not different from criminals being put under surveillance. GSP privileges are examined every year as are the quotas on imports, a practice that creates uncertainty and discourages investments in productive facilities.

Unrelated to trade, yet indicative of the attitude of the United States towards international laws and norms is the arrest of the leader of a country through military action and then charging him under the United States laws in the United States courts. This is the first extra-territorial enforcement of a national law. If a country is willing to ignore world opinion, what guarantee is there that it will not, when it becomes the sole world power, do what it likes in order to protect what it considers as its own interests.

*"Asean in the
1990s and
Beyond"
Council of
Foreign
Relations.
New York,
September 26,
1991*

*"Outlook for
the Pacific Rim
International
Monetary
Conference".
Hong Kong,
June 3, 1985*

Rather than be over-exercised by the Soviet threat, I would argue that a much greater threat to the entire Asia-Pacific region is the emerging Economic Cold War between United States and Japan and the serious economic conflicts between these two states, conflicts which provide cause for concern not only to the two economic giants but also to their friends - in the Pacific and in the rest of the world.

We have a saying in our part of the world that when two elephants fight, it is the grass that gets trampled. We have a vital interest in ensuring that we do not get trampled and that the two elephants who are both good friends of ours do not fight. There is a further twist to the elephant's analogy, however. Not only does the grass get trampled when elephants fight, it gets squashed when the elephants sit down to make love.

And the most undemocratic aspect of the UN is the veto power of the Permanent Five. We can accept some weightage for them, but for each of them, alone, to be more powerful than the whole membership of the UN is not acceptable; not before, not now and not for the future. There can be for the time being some permanent members. But the veto must go.

*48th Plenary
session of the
United Nations
General
Assembly.
New York,
October 1,
1993*

W A R

◀ 228

War is no longer a glorious activity to which even nobility would contribute the flower of its youth. Today, in the eyes of the individual, in the eyes of the world community, and often in the eyes of the very perpetrator, war has, frankly, a bad odour.

Man is a contrary creature. There is a madness in him which leads him into doing extraordinary things. Despite the obvious futility of war in this day and age, there is no certainty that a mad man and mad impulse would not precipitate a war. And so we have to keep our powder dry and like the Scouts, we have to be prepared.

*"The Singapore
Lecture 1988"
organised by
the Institute of
South East
Asian Studies.
Singapore,
December 14,
1988*

*7th Conference
of Heads of State
and Government
of Non - Aligned
Countries.
New Delhi,
March 8, 1983*

It is obvious that the key to the solution lies with Israel. Until they withdraw completely and unconditionally from occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and until the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland, and exercise self determination are restored, there will always be instability and wars in West Asia.

..... historical hegemony and violent or peaceful occupation of territories had always been the West's approach to self-preservation and wealth. So now they naturally suspect China of having similar ambitions

The worst part is the assumption that democratic western countries can foist their principles through undemocratic means. They object to other ideologies being spread by subversion or force but they never hesitate to use these same methods of spreading their ideology.

Sanctions, arm-twisting of various kinds and sustained campaigns through their controlled media are weapons they never hesitate to use. This proselytising for democracy veiled only slightly the objective of eliminating competition before it begins.

*Speech at the
1994 China
Summit
Meeting.
Beijing,
May 11, 1994*

*Clarifying
government
action barring
British
companies from
participating in
government
contracts.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 2, 1994*

We have no quarrel with the British Government and also have no quarrel with any company we are only angry with the British press and we have no way of taking action against the British Press.

Free to tell lies is not a right of the press, free to report the truth, yes.

*48th Plenary
session of UN
General
Assembly where
Dr. Mahathir
devoted 12 out of
his 56 paragraph
speech on
irresponsible
western media.
New York,
October 1, 1993*

But as to the international press, we can only hope and pray that they will realise the damage they are doing. We will not interfere with them. They are free to report and to write any amount of lies. But we do hope that occasionally they cover the truth as well.

They are not happy unless they have created a problem. Of course (when problems arise) there is a lot of news and that's all that they care for. They don't care about relations.

Some of the Australian media had even portrayed me as a difficult person, a dictator, very unpopular with everybody and that in Malaysia there was racial tension about to burst out into violence.

I don't know where they got this impression. You see all these people, Chinese, Indians and Malays, they are going to fight each other are you?

Posing a question to Malaysian reporters after criticizing some of the Australian newspapers, film companies and television stations. Dr. Mahathir's comment came in the wake of Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating describing him 'recalcitrant'. Kuala Lumpur, November 27, 1993

They are disappointed that Malaysia is peaceful and stable and we are able to develop at a rapid pace.

The foreign media frequently criticise us for allegedly controlling the Press, but actually they are the ones being controlled by Western countries.

All the international media are under their (Western nations) control. So, since they are in control, they publish or broadcast reports that are biased.

Kuala Lumpur, August 7, 1993

There are several western-controlled economic magazines writing confusing reports on Malaysia. As such, readers who are Westerners are confused and do not take advantage of the opportunities available here.

Malaysia is not asking these organisations to heap praise on it but only that their reports be factual.

*Opening of the
5th General
Assembly of the
Organisation of
Asian News
Agencies.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 3,
1981*

We in Malaysia are particularly concerned with the frequent incidents of misreporting, deliberate or otherwise, about our affairs in the foreign press, particularly Western Press. We had our first few bitter doses of uncalled-for publicity shortly after the May 13, 1969 racial riots in which foreign readers were regaled with distorted views of the events happening then. Indeed dire predictions were made which imply that the world could write off Malaysia. In the event Malaysia did not only get over her difficulties, but she emerged stronger, more united and more prosperous than ever before.

I am sure you would have noticed that we do not live on trees. Imagine our mild surprise when a book widely distributed throughout the world among children and adults described and illustrated how Malaysians live on trees in order to escape wild animals. The only people Malaysians would like to escape from are these kind of publishers. I am sure that if the media as a whole is sensitive and cares for the truth, or at least a modicum of that commodity, this kind of thing would not happen.

Asians should not fall into the pattern of sensationalism and unmitigated embellishment of the truth that characterise the western press. We should tell things as they are. In time the world will learn that we are reliable and our credibility will ensure our acceptance.

Let me now tilt at the towering windmill of the Western media whose power over the minds of the entire world is so massive and so utterly pervasive. As a Third Worlder I ask: Why must this entire planet be seen from the Western, Orientalist perspective? Why must the Third World be judged day in and day out only according to the self-righteous values of the West and its media? Why must so much sheer arrogance and sheer ignorance wreak so much havoc on the Third World? Is Freedom of the Press, a value which I have been taught to treasure, nothing more than the right of a few editors and a few owners to censor and to decide what we all should read, listen to and watch?

*Trinity College.
Oxford,
April 19, 1985*

*Speech on "The
Role and
Influence of
Religions in
Society".
Kuala Lumpur,
September 14,
1993*

We have, on the other hand, the predominantly Christian Western societies which separate religious life from the secular. Hedonism, the love of pleasure and the gratification of the senses, has gradually displaced religion and made it more and more irrelevant. With this the structure of society has changed.

The relation between members of western society is now largely based on material gains and sensual gratification. Selfishness dominates in the search for these objectives. The community has given way to the individual and his desires. Inevitably the result is the breakdown of established institutions. Marriages, family, respect for elders, for conventions, for customs and traditions have all but disappeared. In their place emerged new values based largely on rejection of all that relates to faith. And so there are single parent families which breed future incests, homosexuality, co-habitation, unlimited and unrestrained materialism and avarice, irreverence, disrespect for all and sundry and of course rejection of religion and religious values. Society and its members have nothing to hold on to. They are adrift and directionless. Even their hedonism, the pleasure-seeking lifestyle begins to pall and bore them, leaving them totally empty or seeking thrills from drugs and other vices.

Malaysian workers are being incited by western trade unions because Malaysia is competing with them in the industrial sector.

They (Malaysian workers) are instigated to do things which would push up production costs in Malaysia so that investment remained in their own countries in Europe and America. And if there are many job opportunities in their own countries they (trade unions) could press for higher remuneration for their members.

In view of this they try their best to ensure there is no investment in Malaysia.

With the coming of foreign investors to Malaysia who now have the advantage of low production costs, employment opportunities in their own countries are bleak

..... they plan to ensure that their livelihood is not threatened. It could be threatened if investment is channeled to our country and reduced in their own country.

Reduced investment would affect their job opportunities and cause unemployment and in the end weaken their efforts to get higher wages for their members.

They (foreign trade unions) still want higher salaries so that they can have an even more luxurious lifestyle.

We are therefore a threat to them

*Interviewed on
TV 1 "With the
Prime
Minister"
programme.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 16,
1993*

ZONE OF PEACE, FREEDOM AND NEUTRALITY (ZOPFAN)

ASEAN-US
Economic
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 18,
1981

One of ASEAN's primary concern is the maintenance of peace and stability in this region. This concern is reflected in our efforts to create a Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN) in Southeast Asia. We believe that it is only through peace and stability that we in the region could devote more time and effort in the pursuit of economic and social development. We in ASEAN strongly believe the strength and stability of a country depends not so much on its armed forces, but more importantly on our ability to intensify economic development and provide a better quality of life for our people.

SECTION III
GENERAL

*17th
Advertising
Congress.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 5,
1990*

Advertising is of course an industry in itself. It is an industry which promotes other industries. When promotion succeeds, enterprises become successful. In a very competitive environment the skills in promoting products and services are crucial. Such is the power of advertising promotion that bad products can succeed at times and for a time at least, while good products can languish and eventually vanish if promotion is weak. Advertising skills mean power. And sometimes it can corrupt. It is necessary that ethical codes be maintained by those in the industry.

*Ninth
Conference of
Heads of
Government of
Non-Aligned
Movement.
Belgrade,
September 4,
1989*

The people must know the limits of freedom if anarchy is to be avoided. Only a vague boundry separates the exercise of freedom and the excesses of anarchy.

I have made public apologies on many occasions for lesser things.

*- On whether he would have apologised under circumstances similar to that of Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating who had called Dr. Mahathir a recalcitrant.
Langkawi,
December 8,
1993*

Arrogance is a sign of weakness, not strength. It is the hallmark of insecurity, not of character. Let me add that arrogance is by no means the monopoly of those in positions of authority. Very often an imagined power or influence manifests itself in arrogance.

*8th Malaysian
Law Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 14,
1985*

*On the need for
bankers to
reach out to the
people.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 1982*

Basically, bankers in developing countries cannot behave like bankers in developed countries. In developed countries, one has to remember that the process has taken many hundreds of years and there are people who have accumulated wealth, and therefore could accumulate more wealth, and who could fall back on their wealth as a means of making more for themselves. If they want to borrow from the bank they have collateral.

But in a developing country it may be that a person will not have any collateral. So there must be some way of getting over a situation where the majority of people do not have wealth as a standby, as collateral. What then do you (as a banker) take? You should examine the nature of the business - whether it could pay back and you should be prepared to help with the management, advice, to make sure that the money loaned will eventually come back to you.

The approach then should be more paternalistic, and that means building a sense of responsibility - social responsibility - not merely one of making a return on the investment

What we want to know is whether these people can be made to understand that money can be used also to make more money. It can be invested, be an instrument of growth and there could be greater sophistication. This has to be built up by the banks by a process of education

I think banks should not behave like moneylenders. They are agents of growth in a modern society.

As the country's bankers and financiers, I need not remind you that you are the custodians of the nation's savings, and that the responsibility for channeling resources towards projects that raise the productive capacity of the nation rests in your hands.

*Speech at
dinner of
Association of
Banks and
Financial
Institutions.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 23,
1983*

Many have excellent ideas but they too fail because they do not have the financial resources. As they are starting anew, they do not have the track record to enable them to raise the funds they require. The traditional bankers would want to see their past performances, their balance sheet and profit and loss accounts and market studies. But if you are a pioneer, then there is, and rightly too, no track record to talk about. If all the bankers were to take this attitude, there would not be any Silicon Valley! This is not to imply that bankers should not be prudent, as indeed they must be as custodian of depositors' funds. But they should not be afraid to allocate a small portion of their resources to invest in new businesses.

*Launch of
Malaysian
Ventures Bhd.
Selangor,
July 18, 1984*

*Speech at
annual dinner
of Association
of Banks.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 30,
1984*

Most of all, no organisation can function well with self-serving officers and leaders. These must be weeded from the system. Just as I expect the administrators in Government to be fully informed and be top of the state of affairs and policies in their charge, so would I expect the senior bankers and their boards to be fully aware of the health of their financial institutions and the direction they are steering over the short and long term. In the pursuit of profit, bankers must never lose sight of their basic responsibility as trustees of the financial assets of the community in which they serve. Public accountability of their behaviour helps in inculcating this trust, which must be seen to be upheld to instill continuing public confidence in the banking system.

*Speech at
annual dinner
organised by
Malaysian
Financial
Institutions.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 19,
1985*

For the banking community no other value is more important than trustworthiness. Without trust banks simply cannot function. Banks hold in trust vast sums of money belonging to individuals, businesses and the state. We, of course, have rules and regulations and laws to ensure that the money is properly managed. But as we have seen, there are full of loopholes for the crooked and the criminal minded. The basic need is still trustworthiness. The only way the banks can function well is for them to be manned by trustworthy people. Then and then only can the wealth of the nation be entrusted to them.

Money must move. It must not remain static. Every time money changes hands wealth is created. The faster money moves the greater will be the wealth created. The financial institutions, the guardians of the nation's money must help this process, must give guidance, must provide expertise and must be more adventurous. They must not let their money stagnate in their vaults for any longer than they can help. They, more than everyone else, must keep money moving and consequently growing.

*Speech at
annual dinner
of Financial
Institutions.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 21,
1989*

*Speech at
dinner hosted
by the Bar
Council of
Peninsular
Malaysia.
Kuala Lumpur,
February 12,
1982*

The Bar Council is an institution that is vested with certain roles in Malaysia. There is no doubt that the roles designated are meant for the general good of the nation. Among these is that of advising the Government, where necessary, on matter affecting legislation and the administration and practise of the law in Malaysia. Now the word advice here is English literal and not English diplomatic. In the days of colonialism the British invented the British Adviser whose "advice when given must be accepted". Only a moron would call that advice. Advice is good counsel which may, or may not be accepted.

The Government is studying the role of the Bar Council with regard to law-making. If it is your role to advise the Government on the making of the laws, then you should have that role. However, the operative word is advice - literal.

*Opening the
7th Malaysia
Law
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 31,
1983*

As a professional body, the Bar Council is duty bound to oversee the professional behaviour of its members. In some countries, the legal profession has fallen into disrepute because ethics have been thrown aside in favour of quick gains. Some make this profession only a side-line as they moved into more lucrative business. There is no way we can stop lawyers and other professionals from forsaking their professions, (I am myself a culprit) but the fear is that the only lawyers left will be young lawyers. Like all young people they will be more impetuous. It is essential that older lawyers take a greater interest in the profession and in the professional bodies such as the Bar Council. It is important to remember also that the Government will have to tap the private sector for judges - and judges must come from among the older members of your profession.

It is brave not to surrender even one inch.
But it takes real bravery to compromise.



*On the need for
courage to
compromise in
disputes and
territorial
claims.
Commenting
on the PLO -
Israel peace
accord. 48th
Plenary Session
of the United
Nations
General
Assembly.
New York,
October 1,
1993*

*"The Palestinians are people. They are a distinct entity.
They deserve the right to their homeland and to exist as
a member of an international community with
sovereignty and dignity".*

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

*Kuala Lumpur,
October 1982*

Even if we hold to our words, it is enough. When we hold to our word in business and say the delivery date is such - and - such we work in order to deliver on that date and once we do that, people will buy from us. They know that if Malaysians are going to supply, they can be sure to get it on time - and the cost will be as stated, and the quality will be as stated. Imagine if we had that kind of reputation due to ethics.

*Speech at
annual dinner
organised by
Financial
Institutions.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 28,
1987*

Business is at its best when there is both private profit and social gains: at its worst when profit is made at society's expense

*Kuala Lumpur,
August 7, 1990*

The future of multi-racial harmony in this country will still depend much on the Government's role in creating a caring society - enough care to protect the rights of the weak without depriving the risk-takers of their earnings.

We possess the humility to accept what cannot be changed and the courage to change what cannot be accepted and the wisdom to distinguish one from the other. Malaysia has looked West and has looked East. We have accepted change when change is due.

Speech on 'Management Policy for Malaysia' delivered at a dinner hosted by Harvard Club. Kuala Lumpur, May 25, 1994

A party needs to go through the process of change from time to time. If it does not and ignores the winds of change blowing around it, it will stagnate and be unable to adapt to the political, economic, social and cultural situation within its own community and the world community.

Message in conjunction with UMNO General Assembly and party elections. Kuala Lumpur, October 30, 1993

The belief that to succeed in business one has to cheat is totally erroneous. Equally erroneous is that all non-Bumiputeras cheat. Honesty pays although it will take time. Cheating will earn you some profits first time around. But there will be no second or third time. Bumiputeras must have a longer term outlook. A small profit that will come repeatedly is much better than a once-off.

Tabling the Outline Perspective Plan (OPP2) (1991-2000). Kuala Lumpur, June 17, 1991

*Speech at the
screening of
"Jeritan
Batinku", a
movie on child
abuse.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 12,
1994*

If Malaysians keep insisting child abuse as a normal occurrence, then this violence will fester within the victims and such victims may strike out at other innocent lives.

*Opening Asian
Congress on
Paediatrics.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 5, 1985*

Child bashing is a hideous crime. It should not be tolerated for one moment more than we can help. But the kind of light punishment for children who have been unduly naughty should not be classed as child bashing. The slight pain they experience will remind them that they live in a world still based on the premise that crime brings with it punishment. It will help them adjust to the world that accepts the relationship between crime and punishment.

If children of the world were articulate and could express themselves, millions would be crying out why they were born at all. Deprived of adequate food, proper shelter and clothing, and exposed to dangerous biological and physical environment, millions die prematurely. Others, born in more affluent countries, have everything except the love that they need, for some parents in these countries have become selfish and no longer believe in the family as an institution. Millions of others are killed or maimed annually in violence or natural disasters. Helplessly these children stare wide-eyed as the adult engage in battles, the reasons for which they do not understand.

They are powerless against the inequities that they see around them, and they must be puzzled by the poverty and squalor in green fertile lands. They wonder why they must get their milk from bottles rather than from their mothers' breast, why even life-sustaining food and water are scarce, and why adults must speed or smoke themselves to death. Looking around they cannot find very much to be happy about. Though they constitute between 40 to 50% of the total population in many parts of the world, what they see is an adult-dominated world.

We will find it extremely difficult to explain how these phenomena came about, or to justify the actions that we have taken. Now and again our conscience is jolted by some tragic happenings in some distant land as and when the media choose to focus on them. Thus the famine in Africa has been going on for a considerable time while our attention was riveted on the goings-on in affluent societies, their intrigues and their petty struggles. The chances

*Opening the
5th Asian
Congress of
Pediatrics.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 5, 1985*

are that there are many more starving children in many more places. Indeed they are likely to be in our own backyard, undramatised until there is some political gain to be had. And if there is some political gain, starvation of children can be invented. This is the tragic fact of life which no child can understand whether he is starved of food or of love.

Considering the sad state of the world, why do we want to bring children into it. Wouldn't it be a kindness to stop producing children?

The problem is that hope springs eternal in the human breast. We still think we can create a better world for our children. Besides, human beings are gregarious. We need the company of our own kind. And nothing heightens up our dull moments and our old age than the sound of children's laughter and their innocent chatter

The behaviour of children and the ethical values they absorb will determine what kind of future they will have. Indeed it will determine what kind of society or nation they will live in. If their upbringing is such that they absorb all the wrong values and ideas, they may end up as burdens to the society in which they live. On the other hand if they are imbued with the right spirit and the higher values then not only will they be assets to the society, but they will help shape the success and glory of the society.

Loyalty and responsibility to the country - that is the price of Malaysian citizenship.

Launching of the new credit-card type Identity cards. Kuala Lumpur, April, 1990

History has invariably taught us that the rise and fall of civilisations has been chiefly due to the citizenry. It is the people that make up civilisations. It is the quality of the citizens that is the most important ingredient to effect dramatic changes to society and nations.

On "The Role and Influence of Religions on Society". Kuala Lumpur, September 14, 1993

We have seen many great civilisations develop only to wither and degenerate because of an obsession with wealth, power and pleasure. We cannot guarantee that if we should attain our target this will not happen to us. But at least while we are still unaffected by success, we should try to instill the values which will help keep our feet firmly on the ground.

On fears expressed by some quarters that achieving developed nation status by the year 2020 will bring social ills. Speech at annual dinner of Financial Institutions. Kuala Lumpur, August 28, 1991

Explaining the meaning of 'Cleanliness' to government officers at the launch of "Leadership by Example" campaign. Kuala Lumpur, March 19, 1983

The first good example that we must show is cleanliness in all its aspects both morally and physically. To be morally clean means to possess good thoughts and ideals and to carry out our duties as promised without any ulterior motive or unworthy intentions. We should not delay our work for the purpose of procuring bribes. What is not rightfully ours should not be taken. We should not be involved in any form of crime or bribery. We should not misuse or abuse authority and we should not be arrogant.

We must be properly dressed and be of good behaviour. We must also ensure the cleanliness of our environment, whether at home or at our place of work. We must avoid polluting the environment. In short, all that is righteous should be practised and all that is evil must be avoided.

C O M P R O M I S E

◀ 251

Malaysians generally believe in compromise, we do not compromise out of weakness but rather out of a common desire to see our nation remain peaceful and prosperous.

*Opening the
Pacific Rim
Business
Collaboration
Symposium.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 6,
1993*

C O N F I D E N C E

◀ 252

Others have told us that we have the ability to become a developed nation. And yet some of our people doubt this ability. This is a question of self-confidence. Confidence can be acquired, but it would partly depend on the individual's willingness to nurture it.

*Kota Bharu,
July 26, 1993*

*Speech at
Rotary Club
dinner.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 20,
1982*

There is a lot that social organisations can do to awaken the conscience of society. For basically that is what is missing - conscience. The rich and the powerful in society and in the community of nations have stifled their conscience and replaced it with arrogance. Human society and the world is the poorer by it, unless and until social groups dedicate themselves to the awakening of society's higher attribute - the conscience.

As long as the society does not accept the practice as a matter of course, corruption can still be curbed. At least it cannot undermine. If efforts against corruption are carried out, they can still be successful.

*At the opening of
UMNO Special
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
June 19, 1994*

This is the corruption dilemma - no system can be used to fight corruption without itself being exposed to corrupting pressures.

*Kuala Lumpur,
March 16, 1986*

Corruption that prevents the stamping of corruption is the worst corruption of all.

*Kuala Lumpur,
March 16, 1986*

Corruption is a favourite topic for gossip. It does not matter that there is not a shred of evidence for these wild accusations which can drive away foreign investors. It is just too good a story to dismiss if someone whispers that such and such a minister is corrupt.

*Second E.M.F.
Foundation
Roundtable on
Malaysia.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 3,
1986*

Ministers and Prime Ministers from many countries have come to Malaysia to lobby for contracts for their countries' private companies. Some even offer grants from their Government if a particular contract is given to a particular company. Indeed, some foreign contracts awarded by Malaysia are based on these grants given to the government. No one accuses these Ministers and Prime Ministers of corruption.

But a Malaysian Prime Minister or Minister has only to head a trade delegation abroad to be accused of corruption. The atmosphere gets stifling for Government leaders trying to promote the country's economy. In the end they try to avoid businessmen. Then they will be accused of being aloof and unhelpful. You are damned if you do and you are damned if you don't.

*Speech at
annual dinner
of Financial
Institutions.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 28,
1991*

Lest you think I am preaching too much, let me remind you of the current BCCI affair, the insider tradings of Ivan Boesky and others, the scandal which now racks Salomon Brothers, NOMURA Securities; the bankruptcies of some of the biggest and most respected banks, and closer to home the BMF affair. Clearly in the financial world, economic development often leads to deterioration of morals.

If you want to criticize me, you can criticize. We have also criticized the United Nations, the United States, China and others. Be free to speak your mind, it is part of democracy and is allowed in the international context. If you don't agree with a policy, say so. But not personal insult.

Commenting on Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating's remark that Dr. Mahathir was a recalcitrant.
Pulau Langkawi,
December 8,
1993

We cannot allow criticism of our laws and policies by outsiders to disorientate and destabilise us. To become dynamic, vibrant and prosperous we have to shape our policy and style of administration to our local situation.

US Asean Council Dinner.
New York,
October 1, 1993

I will more than imply that those who are without sin should cast the stones, that those who live in glass houses should ponder the state of their walls before they venture forth. Those who hurl abuse at the Third World ought to make sure that they speak from premises that are fair, assumptions that are correct, knowledge that is grounded in fact, understanding that is not steeped in ignorance and arrogance.

Speech at Trinity College.
Oxford, April 19,
1985

*International
Symposium on
Technology,
Culture and
Development.
University of
Malaya.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 12,
1983*

What a society is truly the result or the product of its culture - particularly the value system aspect of culture. Of course if we care to go further backwards we will find that the value system of a society is influenced by its environment. But the environment can be shown to affect different societies differently. Thus continuous hardship may either reduce society to passive fatality or it may induce hardiness which enables the society to overcome the challenges of life.

*Speech at
Harvard Club
Dinner.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 28, 1993*

In a developed society, the member should no longer receive passively his cultural heritage without carefully studying the various implications of that heritage. This is because one's total cultural heritage, which includes most importantly the ethical and moral value system or codes, will determine how we function and whether we fail or we succeed as a society. It is altogether possible that the values we inherit are the very reasons for our failure. If we do not study them properly and make corrections where necessary, we may be condemned to fail forever.

I believe in one thing - all decisions are bad unless you can make them good. My perfect example of this is the Charge of the Light Brigade. You know when the order was given to charge, it was a bad decision but the people followed, with the result that it went down in history as a glorious event.

Supposing a person is afraid to make a decision and then a decision is made which is not followed, the result will be bad and for a long time it will be remembered that that person could not make a decision. When one makes a decision, even a bad one, there can be good effect if properly carried out.

So I make decisions which may be good or bad but what is important is, it should be carried out in a way that would produce results. Of course the Japanese have this belief, that when the boss makes a decision which is a bad one, the subordinates will work hard to make it succeed. But in our system, when the boss makes a bad decision, we work hard to prove that the boss is wrong - and sure enough he will be wrong.

*Elaborating on
his decision
making
technique.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 1982*

*Speech at
dinner hosted
by the National
Press Club,
Kuala Lumpur,
March 10,
1986*

Perhaps in a democracy fear from bodily harm has been more or less removed. But there are other fears. Assassination need not be by knife or bullets only. A person can be assassinated by defamation. And in a democratic society it is so easy to defame and destroy and get away with it. The target here is limited. It must be someone for whom a bad image can do harm - a public figure for example. And if the public figure depends on popularity, he may lose it if defamed. For all practical purposes he will have been assassinated.

If an innocent man is defamed he can seek redress only if he is prepared for the hints and innuendos and worse that can be made in the courts. If he wishes to avoid infamy he must lie low and suffer in silence. He must accept being assassinated.

History has proven that a powerful and developed nation can be destroyed if the people depend on outsiders for protection.

*Kuala Lumpur,
July 26, 1993*

Others will not help us forever. Others will not help when we most need help. We can only depend on ourselves.

*International
Conference on
"Islam and
Technology".
Kuala Lumpur,
June 2, 1983*

Self-pity and dependence on others is in fact a characteristic of a lot of under-developed or developing countries. Such countries are usually lacking in discipline and the will to fight adversity. The value systems and culture of the society in these countries are influenced by the basic philosophy of dependence on others and passivity. There is no reaching out for knowledge and advancement. Rather there is a continuous clamour to be given everything in the ready-to-use state.

*International
Symposium on
Technology,
Culture and
Development,
University of
Malaya.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 12,
1983*

*2nd E.M.F
Foundation
Roundtable on
Malaysia.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 3,
1986*

We do have law for detention without trial - a law we inherited from the British. But in a country of 15 million, there are about 30 people in detention - largely hard-core terrorists and their supporters who refuse to foreswear violence.

We have a multi-racial society. We see violence in many countries with multi-racial or multi-religious problems. We don't think anyone has the right to ferment racial fights in the name of freedom of speech. We cannot wait for riots and killing to take place before we act. ~

*Addressing US
Businessmen.
New York,
September 29,
1988*

Malaysia is known for its racial and religious tolerance. Malaysians fully realise the importance of unity, racial harmony and religious tolerance. Malaysia's progress, prosperity and, indeed, survival depend on these. We cannot afford to have demagogues preaching racial hatred and religious intolerance. It is better to act against them before, than after they succeed in igniting religious or racial riots and disorderliness. Preventive detention is abominable but if democracy is to survive, it must be protected from irresponsible opportunists.

*Opening the
7th Malaysian
Law
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 31,
1983*

Preventive detention seems to be quite unacceptable to a lot of people. But to those who are threatened, it does not seem too unreasonable. It would be interesting to study the result of releasing avowed terrorists and homicidal maniacs among society. No matter how much we wish to believe in the essential goodness of everyone, the fact still remains that hardened psychopathic criminals, murderers and terrorists do exist. For them the kind of laws that deter others are quite irrelevant.

Those who despair easily would have no hope. Only those who are prepared to face all types of challenges will succeed. So, do not lose hope, persevere.

Advising local artists not to despair if they had difficulty finding fame and fortune. "Vision Art Exhibition". Kuala Lumpur, August 27, 1993

DOCTOR - PATIENT RELATIONSHIP

◀ 262

When a famous surgeon moves from theatre to theatre performing only the most sophisticated part of surgery, while assistants start the operation and close up the patient, what you are doing is mass surgery where costs are cut. The concern that will arise from mass surgery is not poor quality of work but a lack of personal involvement on the part of the surgeon. If carried too far the surgeon will recognise only a certain part of the anatomy of the patient and not the patient himself. When that happens hospitals will become repair shops. So no matter how advanced medical technology becomes, there must be a certain degree of personal relationship between the patient and the doctor, if medicine is to remain meaningful.

Opening of the 2nd International Combined Scientific meeting organised by the Colleges of General Practitioners, Physicians and Surgeons of Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur, September 12, 1984

*Keynote address
at the 14th
International
Federation of
Non -
governmental
Organisations for
the Prevention of
Drug and
Substance Abuse
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 7, 1992*

So widespread is the abuse of drugs that there is no way a country can deal with the problem purely on a national basis. Only an international effort, carefully co-ordinated, can be expected to yield tangible results.

Prevention really begins at home. The family is the most important unit in the fight against drug abuse. Where the family system has broken down or family influence is not available, the problem of dadah abuse has become almost uncontrollable.

The role of the family is above all to inculcate high moral values which will serve as a built-in defence mechanism against the lure of drug abuse. Next to the family is the community since a morally upright community is less prone to the spread of drug misuse.

The fight against drug abuse must therefore focus largely on the role of the family and the community.

*United Nations
General
Assembly,
New York,
September 29,
1982*

The world community has for a long time treated the drug problem as a social problem akin to poverty, slavery, abuse of children and other social ills. In fact drug addiction is all these social ills rolled into one. The youths afflicted with this problem are mental slaves with deviant tendencies who are permanently impoverished. The problem must be tackled at source and this can only be done if the United Nations will act positively. Failure to arrest this spreading scourge will destroy whole generations to come.

It is a creeping menace of alarming proportions that permeates every level of society and threatens to destroy the social fabric of that society. The threat of drugs gives rise not just to problems of a criminal nature, but also has security ramifications that can undermine the survival of a nation.

*Speech at
dinner hosted
by Swedish
premier Olof
Palme.
Stockholm,
April 9, 1985*

We cannot allow the expression "everybody's responsibility is no one's concern" to be true of dadah prevention. I am in fact very disturbed by the lax attitude and absence of a sense of urgency of various professions and disciplines who regard the dadah problem as a multi-faceted problem but have argued long and deep over different modalities and which profession or discipline should play the leading role. Collectively they have not given the problem the priority it deserves when separately if they were confronted with a problem of the magnitude of the 55,000 persons involved they would have certainly declared it as an epidemic and launched immediate measures to control and eradicate it.

*Third
International
Conference
of Non -
government
organisations
on Dadah use,
prevention and
control.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 2,
1981*

Dadah is one enemy that we cannot say, "If we cannot fight its abuse, we can join in the abuse". Dadah problem, besides being in itself a problem, is also a symptom of the many underlying current social problems. The break-down in the influence of the family, urban migration and weakening in religious beliefs and in social norms are some of the problems that contribute to the worsening of dadah problems. The problem is like the question of the chicken and the egg - which comes first. In the case

of dadah, if we seek to cure the underlying social problem first, it is likely that the spread of dadah will prevent success. On the other hand, trying to tackle the dadah problem without attending to the underlying problem is likely to prove as unsuccessful.

Third International Conference of Non-government organisations on Dadah use, prevention and control. Kuala Lumpur, November 2, 1981

*Inaugural
speech as
President of the
UN sponsored
Conference on
Drug Abuse
and Illicit
Trafficking.
Vienna,
June 17, 1987*

We have to correct the fallacy that drug addiction happens only to someone else's child but never ours, that the source of the problem lies in some faraway land but never at home. The battlefield is in each individual household, each community, each country.

From the science of economics it is interesting to note that there never has been one-handed economists. Those who have had too active an interest in foretelling the future without hedging their prognostications to the point of rendering them highly useless are a rare breed indeed. In fact the current prolonged world recession has about killed the whole lot.

*Speech at the
International
Monetary
Conference.
Hong Kong,
June 3, 1985*

For my part, when talking to economists on economics, I like to imagine that really the economists are not all that bright. They are the people who like to talk of averages. Consequently if you listen to them you are likely to drown in a river which has an average depth of 2 feet. Or to extrapolate, I have a Chinese son because I have five children and according to average figures every fourth child born is a Chinese.

*7th Malaysian
Economic
Convention.
Kuala Lumpur,
January 18,
1983*

These are stories that I tell myself in order to give me "Dutch" courage to face an audience like you.

*Speech at
dinner in
conjunction
with the Silver
Jubilee
Celebration of
the Malaysian
Federation of
Employers.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 19,
1984*

Private sector employers, therefore, are faced with numerous challenges as a result of the changing needs of the times. In meeting these challenges employers have to be more dedicated to their jobs, be prepared to face greater competition and be more innovative and efficient. Over and above this, employers and employees must at all times work as a team so as to face and overcome the very stiff competition from other countries.

Employers must remember that workers contribute to their success or otherwise. It pays to keep workers contented, secured and happy. Appreciate their productivity by equitable rewards.

If we want to have in-house unions, it is essential that employers created the kind of family atmosphere that is conducive to an in-house union. The relationship must be close and personal. Simple greetings and an interest in workers that goes beyond the confines of the business establishment is necessary. The emphasis on ranks and exclusivity should be reduced, if not done away with. Everyone should be on first name terms. And managers should spend more time on the shop floor or be seen in the general office. If these aspects of management are attended to, harmony and prosperity will be the result for all.

A weakness of Malaysian entrepreneurs is their inability to work together. This applies not only to multi-racial enterprises but also those involving a single ethnic group. In other words Malaysians just do not know how to work as a team. Tolerance and understanding is not their forte. Management seminars and courses should focus on this until the right attitudes are ingrained in our businessmen.

*Speech at
dinner hosted
by Malaysian
Institute of
Management,
Kuala Lumpur,
December 28,
1984*

One word of warning. An idea or know-how on the making of something does not ensure business success. To succeed the know-how must be combined with management and marketing expertise. The person with the know-how may not have the other two attributes. It is important that he be prepared to work with those who have. That way we will not only improve the chances of success but should there be failure, he will not bear the whole burden. In Malaysian society it is natural for everyone to keep his knowledge to himself. He will not share it with anyone else for fear of losing his advantage. Yet in Western societies knowledge is freely shared through publication and other means. The innovator will get royalty or some kind of fee. But because the knowledge is widely used, the small royalty becomes very large indeed.

*Launching of
Malaysian
Venture Bhd.
Selangor,
July 18, 1984*

It is time that Malaysians change their attitude and in sharing their know-how, distribute and lessen their risks. Of course, some safeguards must be built in order to ensure that the know-how is not completely lost.

*Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

I would, therefore, call on Malaysian entrepreneurs to redouble their efforts to identify and seize opportunities from the increasing size of world market. The opportunities that exist for profitable ventures are plenty. I would also urge Malaysian entrepreneurs to set up plants and buy into enterprises overseas for the main purpose of gaining a viable foothold in overseas markets. I am indeed confident Malaysian entrepreneurs have the capability and capacity to be successful in these ventures.

They should strive to venture into the development of more capital-intensive and technologically-sophisticated industries as well as export-oriented, intermediate and capital goods industries. The development of these industries will not only up new opportunities for exports but also reduce our imports of these goods.

It is easy for environmentalists to complain about the impact of the industries on the environment but are they willing to provide employment opportunities to hundreds of thousands of people?

| *Kuantan,*
| *May 22, 1993*

All industries produce a certain degree of pollution but this does not mean that all factories have to be closed down.

Instead, efforts to treat the wastes will be taken. Such problems can be solved.

We have to balance between environmental needs and the needs of the people.

*Tabling the
Sixth Malaysia
Plan
(1991-1992)
Parliament
House.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 10, 1991*

An important ingredient for the success of any individual or nation is the ethical values which influence daily life, particularly at the place of work.

Ethical values are a part of the culture of society.

The assumption that such ethical values are already in place and will be passed from parents to children and through exposure to society is not quite correct. Values need to be actively disseminated to society through formal and informal channels.

It is also wrong to regard existing values as good and correct or that any change would destroy the culture.

In order that Malaysians will become productive and be able to adjust to an industrialised and developed society from an agricultural peasant society, the correct values must be identified and propagated, particularly among the younger generation.

*Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

Well, to me ethics is what makes people, what differentiates people. A person of one race is different from another not because of his skin or complexion or configuration or whatever. It is because of his value system.

Also ethics are never static. It changes as the culture changes. People who were very disciplined before could one day become lax in discipline. We see this in Europe now. Because of this I believe Malaysians can develop their own

racess. Malaysian ethics. And Malaysian ethics must be built based on our perceptions of the ethical values that will develop this country.

That is why we have to look around - the East and West - and take the best from all. We think that if we develop a sense of good ethics, we should succeed.

Every system of ethics, including religious ethics, suffer this dichotomy between what is preached and what is practised. As a result, the ethical values of a society fail to bring about the good results that they promise.

It is therefore important that we do not just focus on ethical values, but more importantly we scrutinise the practise of these values. And scrutiny must be followed by corrective measures.

Clearly good ethics pays. It pays for the individual and it pays for the community. And it pays more permanently. Thus, if we admit that we are all selfish, that very selfishness will be better served by practising good ethics for the general good.

The importance of good ethics cannot be over estimated. The individual, the community and the nation need good ethics. Without it, everyone, without exception will suffer. Indeed the decline and fall of great empires are invariably due to ethical deterioration. And the problems that are being faced by many developed nations today are in part at least due to the decline of ethical and moral values in their societies.

*Harvard Club
dinner.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 28, 1993*

*Opening the
20th World
Management
Congress.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 3,
1985*

What is clearly evident, from our own experience and those of others, is that the pursuit of excellence requires effort, energy, time and sacrifices. It takes tremendous investment of energy, time and resources to create and build the foundations for excellence. The leadership and managerial quality that is most highly desired for the tasks in hand is perhaps the will to lead and succeed, the deep abiding commitment to excellence; the persistence and patience needed to steer and persevere in the management of programmes for increasing productivity while remaining dedicated to quality. The will is born out of a genuine commitment and love for the organisation and country, a deep sense of mission and purpose to see the country prosperous and respected by the world.

We have to ensure that the commitment and dedication to excellence is espoused and shared by every member of the organisation; that it should finally become the “super-ordinate value” or the culture of organisation and society. This is by no means easy. We have to constantly face, ride and win over the voices of cynicism, apathy, dissent, resistance and short-term orientation. In short, the commitment to excellence must be a national agenda, national consensus, a collective commitment to a common purpose. There is no short cut on the road to excellence. We have to work for it. We need the stamina of a top-class marathon runner rather than the speedy sprinter.

We learned the hard way that there is no such thing as a free lunch-you eventually pay for your excesses.

The sooner you realise this, the less severe the cost of adjustment. Fortunately for us, we understood the danger signals and tightened our belts early. The result is clear for all to see.

On the nation's successful passage through the 1985-1986 recession. World Economic Forum Meeting on Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur, November 6, 1989

We must aim for a quality of life in which the pursuit of wealth will be tempered by concerns for the environment, for good human relations, and for a wholesome life that is not devoted to the pursuit of pleasure alone. Far too often a community achieves a high degree of development only to disintegrate because of excesses brought about by material wealth.

Speech at the annual dinner of Financial Institutions. Kuala Lumpur, August 28, 1991

Existence is not just living and surviving-eating and making merry. Existence is a quality of fuller fulfillment-materially and spiritually-a better quality of life and living.

National Science Forum, Universiti Pertanian. Kuala Lumpur, May 10, 1983

*41st MCA
General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
June 18, 1994*

Extremism, racial or religious, in a multi-racial and multi - religious country like Malaysia will only bring about instability and riots.

*Kuala Lumpur.
June 10, 1994*

Extremist elements hiding behind the name of Islam frequently cause chaos through killings and explosions in their efforts to topple governments which they claim are not Islamic enough.

In the end Islamic countries become weak and poor and are unable to defend their sovereignty.

"My home is my paradise" cannot be realised if Malaysians follow the western concept of family.

The western definition of family can mean anything from a man living out of wedlock with a man or two women staying together adopting a child.

The definition of family in the West has deviated from the real meaning - when we send our representatives to United Nations Conferences they (Western countries) refuse our understanding of how a family should be.

*Speech during
the screening of
'Jeritan Batinku'
a child abuse
movie.*

*Kuala Lumpur,
August 12, 1994*

Do not preoccupy ourselves with trivial matters that will not help determine our fate in the future. We must be farsighted. We must not think and plan just for tomorrow or the coming year. Instead, we must think and plan for the next 30 years, for our descendants, the next generations, so that they will not be looked down upon by others as has happened to us. We do not want to be looked down upon by anyone. We want to be a race that will stand tall and be respected by the world.

*"The meaning of
Vision 2020".
Seremban,
May 26, 1991*

*Speech at
dinner hosted
by the National
Press Club.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 10,
1986*

Human society can never be free from fear. It is the natural state of things. We struggle to get rid of one source of fear, only to find that we have created a new source. We will try to live with this new fear until it becomes unbearable. Then slowly we will struggle again to free ourselves. But when this struggle succeeds, yet another source of fear will emerge.

Democracy apparently has not banished fear. For the defamed and for a lot of others fear stalks them. The mechanics are the same. When a person or an institution is powerful we must fear them. We are afraid of those who can cause us discomfort if not bodily harm. We know they are wrong but we don't criticise them because they can hurt us. In democracy the centres of power have shifted and these new centres are no less oppressive than those in a feudalistic society or a dictatorship.

In utilising the vast wealth of knowledge at their disposal for presentation to the audience, film makers have an important role to play. In a real sense they are the personification of the mass media. Collectively they form the most effective media machinery able to reach out to society at large. They can make the audience happy or they can make them cry. They can make them knowledgeable or they can confuse them absolutely. Above all they can inculcate positive values so essential to nation-building and the development processes.

*Closing
ceremony, 27th
Asian Film
Festival.
Kuala Lumpur,
September 14,
1982*

*National Day
message.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 30,
1993*

Freedom should have its limits as we do not want someone's freedom to become a pressure on someone else and absolute freedom will threaten society.

*Advice to
Malaysian
youth.
Kuala Lumpur,
May, 1992*

There is a time to play and a time for work. Unlimited personal freedom will make us a backward and despised nation.

*National Day
message.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 30,
1993*

Absolute freedom is not democracy but anarchy, a situation without law and order.

Freedom is a commodity much touted by the North. Woe betide any country in the developing world which does not grant freedom to its citizens. Yet the North consider it right and proper to deprive the people in the developing countries of their freedom to exploit their own natural wealth. In campaigning against tropical timber and boycotting it, they are denying us our freedom to make a living, to extract what little wealth we have, and to free ourselves from hunger, disease and poverty. How can they still talk of freedom when it is they who deprive us of freedom? When we achieved independence we thought we would be free. But the North is still subjecting us to imperial pressure. The late Indonesian President Sukarno was right when he talked of Neocolonialism.

There is and has never been such a thing as absolute freedom. It is my view that regardless of circumstance or time, the best model is the social responsibility model.

Freedom is not licence. Neither is it free. There is a price to pay. To have freedom one must also be responsible.

*Official
opening of the
Second
Ministerial
Conference of
Developing
Countries on
Environment
and
Development.
Kuala Lumpur,
April 26, 1992*

*World Press
Convention.
Kuala Lumpur,
September 18,
1985*

*2nd E.M.F.
Foundation
Roundtable on
Malaysia.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 3,
1986*

*Speech at
annual dinner
organised by
Financial
Institutions in
Malaysia.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 19,
1985*

Malaysia's prosperity has spawned a number of self-made millionaires, some of whom really make it in the classic rags to riches saga. Unfortunately this has brought about a 'get rich quick' mentality. Even the penniless now think that they can become millionaires overnight without any effort.

This is an unhealthy frame of mind. It leads to acts which frequently verge on the fraudulent. Indeed fraudulent means are often resorted to. A prosperity built on fraud is not durable. It will collapse and then the price to pay will be horrendous.

G O D A N D N A T I O N

◀ 279

God will not change the fate of a nation
unless that nation itself strives for improvement

*Kuala Lumpur,
March 16,
1986 issue*

G O D ' S G I F T S

◀ 280

We need a lot of capital to develop our
economy. But we do not need to have a lot of
capital if we know how to capitalise on God's
gifts - our brains and natural attractions.

Malaysia is blessed with natural attractions
and good weather conditions, enabling all kinds of
vegetation to grow well.

But sometimes the people are not aware of
the potentials or fail to appreciate them.

*Speaking to
rural folks on
the need to
improve
economic status
by using
natural country
side attraction
for tourism.
Hulu Besut,
Jertih,
April 9, 1994*

*At a function
for
handicapped
artists.*

*Kuala Lumpur,
May 26, 1994*

Everybody is handicapped. Even the so called normal people are disabled, if not in their physical form, maybe in their personality, interest or attitude.

*Conference on
"Perspective in
Prenatal
Medicine".
University
Kebangsaan
Malaysia.
November 13,
1981*

Health is a property, a nikmah, conferred us by Allah. As we learn more and more about health and the sciences related to it, we must realize that it is not Allah Who conferred upon the newborn the deformities and the weaknesses. It is all largely our fault. Allah meant the newborn to start life well and healthy, as clean physically as it is spiritually. But, we through our laziness and failure to learn to understand the physiological and pathological laws of Allah, have caused the newborn to be handicapped at birth. It is not the will of Allah to cast a blight on the child. It is we who have caused it. And we are doubly to be blamed. If, knowing we can prevent the handicap, we do not do so.

Now we know that the narration of history by different people and different countries differ greatly. In history it is always the other country which is wrong. One's own country is always right. And so whole generations grow up to hate and despise certain countries because of what their history books narrate.

*Opening the
2nd Conference
of ASEAN
Ministers
responsible for
information.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 1, 1991*

H O N O U R

We live in a society which no longer has any honour.

*London, April,
1987*

*Speech at the
conference on
"Labuan: An
International
Offshore
Financial
Centre".
Kuala Lumpur,
February 5, 1991*

Far fetched ideas if worked at assiduously can become realities. Most of today's successful business conglomerates started as far - fetched ideas. It was the determination and commitment of the people involved that saw the idea take root and grow into what these conglomerates are today.

*Kuala Lumpur,
March 16,
1986*

To improve, the important thing is not to exhibit polemical skills but to accept what is acceptable and put it into practice.

Inequality is the bane of human society. Democracy purportedly cherished by all, is associated with equality and equatability. While Governments are urged to be democratic, in the affairs between nations democracy is noticeably absent. In the community of nations, the strongest and the richest take advantage of the weak and the poor. There is no equality there.

*Addressing the
43rd of United
Nations General
Assembly.
New York,
October 4, 1988*

There is a case for injunctions when an irretrievable injustice is to be prevented. But injunctions are not meant to frustrate the law or to frustrate what is right and legal. Yet we see today innumerable examples of the last minute injunction calculated to frustrate legitimate acts. On a technicality individuals have been able to hold to ransom huge organisations with members numbering hundreds of thousands or even a million. And the ransom has to be paid. Which of course prompts others to try the same. In the final analysis this application of a right results in injustice to a great number of unsuspecting victims. Is this what the law is meant to do?

*Opening the
8th Malaysian
Law
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 14,
1985*

*Fellowship
night of the
Malaysian
Institute of
Directors.
Kuala Lumpur,
January 6,
1984*

Integrity is the hallmark of corporate success. Without it whatever initiative you have or progress you make will become meaningless. Without integrity in any organisation, Government or private, corruption and immorality can creep in to cause corporate decay and eventual collapse. Without integrity too, morale amongst employees, managers, consumers and Government as well as industry will decline, and such a state is, of course, very detrimental to the economy and the country. We must utilise all the physical, human and other resources available to us to the best of our ability for the good of the nation. And integrity is a resource that has a distinct and definite bearing on the success of this nation.

*Opening of the
5th General
Assembly of the
Organisation of
Asian News
Agencies.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 3,
1981*

A trend that is to be applauded is investigative reporting. Unfortunately, only a thin invisible line separates investigative reporting from muck - raking. The world must have secrets which should not be exposed if relationship between nations is to be good. If every single thought about our friends are known to them, they will not remain friends. So, while investigative reporting is good, we should be careful not to allow such reports to degenerate into muck-raking.

Justice and the Rule of Law are meaningless unless there exists a legal system which can efficiently and effectively transform philosophy into action, which can take social intent and make it social reality.

On the other hand, we have some obvious though by no means unique flaws. Our 'due process of law' is so slow at times that one might refer to it as the 'overdue process of law'. Justice delayed is justice denied and justice overly delayed is injustice perpetrated. It is no excuse to say that the law's delay is a universal phenomenon. We should seek to do better. The delay cannot be attributed exclusively to the Bench. The blame has to be shared by both sides. Dilatoriness is a crime. Deliberate frustration of the law by whatever means can only lead to injustice in the long run.

*8th Malaysian
Law Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 14,
1985*

*On what he
thought was
most important
in getting the
people to
pool their
efforts and
ensure success.*

*"With the
Prime
Minister"
programme
over TV1.
Kuala Lumpur,
June 16, 1993*

It is knowledge.

We cannot act effectively without understanding what we are doing, what the gains will be and what the results will be.

*International
Conference on
"Islam and
Technology"
organised by
Universiti
Teknologi
Malaysia.
Kuala Lumpur,
June 2, 1983*

Knowledge is progress. Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w) told us to seek knowledge even to China. China at that time was not the centre of Islam but a centre of civilisation, and therefore, this urge to seek knowledge even to the remotest part of the world by the Prophet (s.a.w) should make the Muslims truly aware of the importance of acquiring knowledge. Certainly what the Prophet (s.a.w) meant then was not Islamic knowledge but the knowledge which is temporal in nature. At the same time, knowledge is not meant to replace our faith, but to support our faith

In Islam, the quest for knowledge, and the satisfaction of our curiosity is a pursuit for truth. Knowledge is, therefore, not for the sake of knowledge, but for truth. In addition, knowledge is also to be of service to mankind. In other words, knowledge is subjective - it should be in support of the quest for Divine truth and to serve the good of mankind.

Education and mastering all kinds of knowledge are important to us. If we accept this, then we should identify our priority. To master knowledge, we must be able to master other languages. It is faster to acquire the command of another language than to wait for the knowledge to be translated into our language.

*Speech at UMNO
General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 4,
1993*

*Opening the
ASEAN Law
Association
General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 26,
1982*

Touching on your profession, I rather envy the ideas which lawyers have as to how the country should be run and the facility and gay abandon with which they express themselves whenever Government did something they disagreed with.

As an example of how quick they are on the uptake I would like to relate to you a story about a doctor who had a lawyer as a patient. The doctor after examining the lawyer said, "I am afraid there is nothing I can do for you. Your disease is hereditary".

"Well, in that case", said the lawyer, "send the bill to my father".

I also envy the precision with which lawyers use language. For example, in another case, a doctor was treating a lawyer suffering from diabetes and high blood pressure. The doctor advised slimming. He said, "You are overweight. You weigh nearly 250 pounds. Tell me, what was the least you ever weighed". The lawyer patient answered, "81/2 pounds".

I will always respect the bar and their independence. I promise that no member of the legal profession would ever be penalised in the course of discharging their duties.

Some may prefer that lawyers talk of service first and fees second. Be that as it may, the startling fact is that there has yet to be a public conference on the quality of legal service provided by this country's lawyers or question related to competence amongst lawyers. Some day you might be interested to hold a discussion on whether lawyers discharge their functions fully as prescribed under the Legal Profession Act 1976

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We are all aware that ignorance of the law is not excuse. Some lawyers obviously believe that ignorance of the law should be no excuse for refraining from practicing it.

In the practise of law, dishonesty is the more pernicious, the more vicious, because very often lives are involved and futures are at risk. I know that your task is made no easier by the presence of less than honest clients. Many simply want a lawyer to tell him how to do what he wants to do, not someone who can advise on what he can or cannot do. Professionals cannot stand aloof, completely unsullied by the dirt of societal corruption, untouched by the tide of social dishonesty that surrounds them. But they must try. And because of their position and their work in society, I believe that the penalty for less than honest lawyers must be more severe than for their businessman counterpart.

Their own beliefs and feelings must be held in check and must be divorced from those of their clients. Otherwise the clients will only become subjects for the propagation or establishment of their lawyer's own beliefs. When that happens the client's interest becomes secondary and chances are that he will pay the price for the fame or notoriety of his lawyer. I might add that of late we are seeing quite a few of this.

*8th Malaysian
Law Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 14,
1985*

*Johor Bahru,
October 11,
1993*

No leader is permanent. They come and go when it is time. In 1987, we got carried away when we placed personalities on top and not the party. Then, we wanted personalities to win although it damaged the party.

We are in Umno because of the party. The party is the only platform which strives for us. So, personalities are not more important whether it is Dr. Mahathir or Tan Sri Muhyiddin (Yassin).

We must bring about an awareness where members give priority to leadership, but not to an extent where the party is split because one or two people did not get a place.

*Part of a text of
a memorandum
to senior
Government
officials on
"Leadership by
Example".
Kuala Lumpur,
August, 1983*

Government leaders, whether politicians or civilians, are undoubtedly required to set good examples.

It is very important that they understand and practice government policies so that their good example will be emulated by all the people in this country for the common benefit and prosperity.

Leadership determines the success of a nation.

There is nothing worse for a country than having leaders lacking integrity and credibility.

Look at the countries which are backward despite having abundant natural resources and efficient and hardworking people. It is all because their leaders practice the wrong ideology and approach.

The nation will suffer if we make a wrong choice or keep changing leaders for no reason or only for the interests of certain individuals.

Developing the country is a long-term struggle. After we are developed we want to continue developing and all this is for the people, and not the leaders. Leaders are entrusted with the task of coordinating (development) and not projecting themselves or becoming dignitaries.

We are all the same. The only differences between leaders and the people is in terms of duties but we are all democratic.

There is no point in becoming the leaders of a country without peace as we will be despised.

We also do not want to become like leaders of certain countries who denounced suppression before becoming leaders but resorted to suppressing others after gaining power.

*Opening the
40th MIC
General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 7, 1993*

*Batu
Berendam,
Malacca
June 13, 1994*

*Speech at
UMNO
General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 4,
1993*

As an individual who is elected by the members, I am aware that no matter how popular a leader is, one day he will be dropped. I will abide by whatever decision the party will make when my time comes. Today, it may be someone's turn tomorrow it could be mine. That's politics.

There is no place for prima donnas in government. What we must have are people who are efficient, skilled, willingness to put self behind party and nation, and readiness to put duty and country above all else.

*Speech at the
Asian Society
Conference on
"Asia and the
Changing
World Order".
Tokyo,
May 13, 1993*

Leadership in Asean has most often meant leadership in sensitivity and consideration for others, in wisdom, in effort, in responsibility and in sacrifice - not leadership in dictating decisions and reaping benefits. It is in this context that I call on Japan, China and the other great nations of East Asia to provide leadership.

*Launching the
"Leadership by
Example"
campaign.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 19,
1983*

Making a pledge is meaningless unless it is practised. In order to ensure that the promise made is fulfilled, it is of utmost importance that the leaders practise it themselves. It is pointless for the leaders to urge others to do good, if they themselves do not practise what they preach.

“Leadership by Example” means a process of instilling and nurturing the required leadership qualities through practice by those in positions of authority or those aspiring to such positions. Good behaviour, morality and deeds will have to be shown by the superiors to guide and inspire subordinates and others. Undesirable behaviour and values must be discouraged before they become pervasive and entrenched. Such behaviour and qualities would include idleness, extremism, intolerance and passive thinking which are disruptive and unproductive.

To lead by setting good examples is an effective way to ensure that good practices are practised by all. It is pointless for leaders or superiors urging others to do good, if they themselves do not practise what they preach. It is a heavy responsibility to set good examples, but to those who are sincere and energetic, and who wish to see his or her country developing progressively and peacefully, this responsibility or challenge will be shouldered with grit and determination.

Leadership by example means the top men coming to office earlier and wearing name-tags instead of privileged disregard of rules by the executive including the Prime Minister.

JAYCEES
*Asia - Pacific
Regional
Conference.
Genting
Highlands,
May 25, 1984*

*20th World
Management
Congress.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 3,
1985*

*Launching
ceremony of
"Leadership by
Example"
campaign.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 19,
1983*

To spread vicious lies is a heinous act that should not be done by anyone.

*Opening the
5th Congress of
the Federation
of Asian
Veterinary
Associations.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 19,
1986*

Man and animals have a long history of interdependence. Indeed the health and well-being of man has always been closely linked with that of his animals. Ever since the beginning of human history, man had depended heavily on animals for food, fibre, power and even for fuel. Despite the vast changes that has taken place in human fortune and circumstances over the last several thousand years, this dependence, on a global basis, has continued almost unaltered. Indeed human dependence on animals has increased. In modern times animals have come to play an increasingly important role in human recreational pleasure and as a source of companionship.

What form the interdependence will take in the future is subject to speculation, but I am sure interdependence will endure.

We must be careful when placing confidence in any management.

We must have regulations which we must review frequently. We should not get carried away by the thought of gaining a big profit in a short time.

We wish to see a new code of ethics among Malaysian company managers.

*Opening of the
MCA General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 16,
1986.*

They (Managers) should see that every part of the business functions properly. They should be up to date in terms of the latest management techniques and technological innovations. They should be innovative in management and in helping the progress of the corporations.

*Speech at
Harvard Club.
Kuala Lumpur,
May 27, 1994*

They should above all know how to handle people, including possibly the board.

But in modern business there is no mystery anymore. All the tricks of management are known and published - the question is whether you can put them into effect or not. Companies should not feel it necessary to hide the factors for their success.

*Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

*Harvard Club
Dinner.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 23, 1993*

Unless everyone can be trusted, management will fail. Systems have been devised to circumvent this need to trust. But there is just no such system. And so trust remains an essence of good management.

*Fellowship
dinner of the
Institute of
Management
Consultants.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 7,
1984*

In broad terms, management is concerned with seeing that a job gets done and done efficiently. Its tasks centres on decisions for planning and guiding the operations that are going on in the enterprise.

If our vital aim is to improve productivity and performance, we have to achieve efficiency and productivity through dynamic and effective management. In fact, the development and quality of life of any society or nation is largely a result of the management skills of the administrators in the Government and the executives in the private sector.

The competition is unending. To relax and rest on one's laurels is to invite stagnation and then displacement. And so managers must continue to improve management techniques, to search for excellence. The reward is great. Managers by whatever title are the highest paid people in the world. Even in Malaysia they command very high salaries, at least in the private sector.

But the greatest reward is not material wealth. It is the knowledge that a degree of excellence in management skill has been achieved and a disorderly collection of men, material and money has been brought together and husbanded so as to become a cohesive force to overcome obstacles and yield returns. Excellence is a reward in itself.

A man who is asked to manage is not necessarily a manager. He is just a glorified employee. A manager manages for the success of his organisation, not himself.

The best managers are not usually the most popular. On the other hand the most popular man seldom make good managers.

*20th World
Management
Congress.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 3,
1985*

*Harvard Business
School Alumni
Club of Malaysia
dinner.
Genting
Highlands,
August 7, 1982*

*Asian
Association of
Management
Consultants.
Pulau Pinang,
October 30, 1983*

Dialogue with participants at seminar on "The Role and Influence of Religion in Society". Kuala Lumpur, September 14, 1993

From a cursory review of the realities that had taken place in different societies, the issue at hand is to find out how a nation could produce a people or society that has a deep sense of religious consciousness, committed to ethical and moral values and yet be the most progressive.

This is indeed very necessary and pertinent because we can easily achieve material progress by physical planning and progress. But the stark truth is that all the material wealth that we have accumulated can be completely wiped out if we do not have the morally right set of values among the people who manage them.

National seminar on "Productivity". Kuala Lumpur, April 15, 1982

In the endeavour to satisfy needs, people have become more and more materialistic in their mental outlook and conduct of daily affairs. The ringgit assumes undue importance and everyday considerations are linked to how to get more Ringgit. If this goes on it is likely that the individual will forget or lose the human values of affection, kindness, consideration and love for God. Before the 'ugly and money-minded Malaysian's image comes to us, our schools, colleges and religious institutions must play a decisive role in moulding Malaysians to be disciplined morally and spiritually. National development must have as its parallel, spiritual and moral development.

Material progress is not, and should not be, an end in itself. Islam looks at material progress as a means to enable men to serve his creator. Thus material progress must always be viewed as a means in the pursuit of higher spiritual values; otherwise the result could be detrimental and disasterous. We must remember that we are merely the temporary custodian and administrator of the material wealth on earth. It is how we administer this wealth that distinguishes us from the avaricious materialist. In this there is a comprehensive guidance in the Al-Quran Al-Karim.

*Opening of the
First General
Assembly of the
Regional
Islamic
Dakwah
Council of
South East
Asia.
Kuala Lumpur,
June 12, 1982*

*On difficulty in
making
decision based
on press
reports.
Langkawi,
December 9,
1993*

*World Press
Convention.
Kuala Lumpur,
September 18,
1985*

We get into a lot of trouble because somebody says somebody said something.

The media, like the individual or groups of individuals, is an actor within a human community. In the modern world, however, such is the power of the media that it has often been called the Fourth Estate. In many countries, it has become a powerful force in society, so powerful in fact that kings and presidents bow and scrape before it.

Just as it is right in saying that a Government has no monopoly on constructiveness and wisdom, the media must recognise that it too has no monopoly on constructiveness and wisdom. Just as the public servant must be prepared to accept criticism, so too must the media be prepared to accept criticism. Just as Government is not above the law, the media too is not above the law.

The media must be allowed to compete in the economic market place and carry the favour of its target customers; but it must do so within the bounds of decency and responsibility. Contrary to what is thought in many of even the best journalistic institutions, the deadline is not sacred. The public good is sacred. In my view, and I state it without any reservation or apology, the public good is always sacred.

The media needs to educate and itself to be educated with the rest of society, especially since its reach is so vast and its power so great.

While the Press has the right to expose any shortcomings, whether in the Government or in the private sector, it also has a responsibility to present a balanced picture. We should not forget the success and the achievements. Unless your reporting is balanced reporting will result in the creation of an image of a country that doesn't seem to be able to do anything right. You know very well that we do a lot of right things in this country. How else can you explain the prosperity and the good life?

*Speech at
dinner hosted
by National
Press Club.
Kuala Lumpur,
October 12,
1981*

In our multi-racial society the responsibility of the Press goes beyond just accurate reporting. The sensitivities of the various races have to be considered. Political stability and the peaceful co-existence among the races are two important conditions which the Government strives to promote and preserve. In all our actions and policies the Government takes special care that these two factors are always taken into consideration. It would be inimical to the efforts of the Government if the Press in their overzealousness were to report event without giving due consideration to the sensitivities of the various races.

Some of you regard the need to exercise certain restraint in order not to ruffle these sensitivities as limitation to the proper and effective working of the media. I believe, however, that these constraints should be regarded as a challenge to the skill and maturity of our journalists, broadcasters and others in the media and also as a test of their sense of responsibility.

48th Plenary
Session of the
United Nations
General
Assembly.
New York,
October 1,
1993

What we see and hear and witness, is what the media decide, we should see and hear and witness. If the media wants us to be shocked by the massacre, it can broadcast lurid details of that massacre. But if it chooses to broadcast Michael Jackson at the time the massacre was taking place, we will be stomping our feet in total enjoyment.

Clearly the people who decide what we should see and hear hold terrible power. They can have us dancing in the streets or they can have us rioting in the streets with firebrands in our hands, burning, looting and killing.

Can we doubt that such people are powerful?

Make no mistake. The people who control the media control our minds, and probably control the world. Presidents can be made or broken by them. And they have. Countries can be isolated or accepted despite violations of human rights, depending on how the media presents them.

And who controls the powerful world media? Not the National Government of tiny developing nations. Not even the Governments of powerful nations. A very few people in the west control all the international media. Some are journalists but quite a few are not. Collectively they are Big Brothers.

The mothers of today are a confused lot. Between their desire to discipline their children and their abhorrence of child bashing, they are completely lost. They just do not know how to handle the situation. Thus, children are likely to grow up into nothing more than adult imitations of the brats they once were.

But many mothers feel that children are too small to understand. They should not be punished because they are ignorant. And so they grow up as ignorant brats to populate this world and undertake responsibilities for which they have not been prepared. Is it any wonder that we see today the children of many good families turning to drugs and crimes and life-style that is wholly hedonistic, contributing not at all to the betterment of society?

*Opening the
Asian Congress
of Paediatrics.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 5, 1985*

If negotiations were based on accepted and agreed principles, then the negotiations would always be successful.

*Tokyo, May 12,
1993*

*Opening the
International
Chinese
Newspapers
Convention.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 10,
1990*

A large number of newspapers may mean a liberal policy towards the press. But it also results in very violent competition between them. Competition is said to be healthy and is very much in keeping with a nation which subscribes to a market economy. However, keen competition may result in unhealthy practices. We are all aware that in the West keen competition between newspapers have resulted in unsavoury practices such as excessive sensationalism, inaccurate and slanted reporting, intrusions into the privacy of citizens, buying of stories from criminals, etc. There is very little concern for the well-being of the community or the nation. The most important thing is for the competing publications to increase their circulation and make profits.

OLD APPROACHES

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If we wish to chase and be on a par with others, we cannot practise the old approaches which had contributed to our backwardness. Even though everyone has a limit to their ability, we would not know these limits until we try hard enough.

My belief is that we should never regard anything that we are used to doing as being the only way of doing things. We should attempt to jettison all these established ways and accept new ways if there is valid reason for doing so.

*Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

PHILOSOPHY

◀ 304

It is indeed, unfortunate, that philosophy which has been the apex of, and an integrative point of pre-modern knowledge is no longer performing that role.

*Speech at the
National
Science Forum.
Universiti
Pertanian,
May 10, 1983*

*On the
unbridled
manner of media
reporting in the
Western world.
48th Plenary
session of the
United Nations
General
Assembly.
New York,
October 1, 1993*

Power Corrupts. But power without responsibility is the most corrupting influence of all.

*Speech at
dinner hosted by
the Bar Council
of peninsular
Malaysia.
Kuala Lumpur,
February 12,
1982*

We are told that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. However, power is a necessity if society is to remain orderly. There should not be absolute power - but power, effective power, there must be - if society is to thrive and progress.

But almost 28 years of independence have also taught Malaysians a great deal. The lesson that they have been forced to take to heart is that the world really cares very little for sentiments. Over and over again this lesson has been hammered into our heads. Indeed even now we are being taught that sentiments, friendship, past associations and the rest have very little to do with the relationship between nations or groups of nations. In other words we live in a pragmatic and rather calculating world and Malaysians, like everyone else, must appreciate and apply pragmatism if they are to prosper or at least to survive.

*Speech at
dinner in
honour of
British Prime
Minister
Margaret
Thatcher.
Kuala Lumpur,
April 5, 1985*

Even the man who knows everything about the past cannot predict the future because history does not travel in a straight line. Even complete knowledge of the present, were it possible, can only be suggestive, for tomorrow is not another name for today. Confucius is supposed to have said: "Prediction is always difficult especially if it concerns the future". He was right. It truly is best to tell the future after it has passed into the past, when one can have the benefit of hind-sight.

*Speaking on
"Outlook for
the Pacific
Region",
International
Monetary
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
June 3, 1985*

*Opening the
"Heart Week"
organised by
the Malaysian
Heart
Foundation.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 12,
1993*

Philanthropists and corporations should contribute funds for preventive health programmes and health research studies that would be of direct benefit to the people.

The establishment of corporate health promotion programmes would benefit both employees and employers as well as the nation.

A healthy workplace should be for all and not be for a group of people committed to their own well-being.

Productivity increase means efficiency in the use of resources resulting in producing more at a lower cost, thus enabling us to compete with other nations.

In order to improve productivity, there is a need for improvement in technology, entrepreneurship and the quality of labour and management.

Productivity means increased output without an equal increase in monetary input. Input costs must be lower than the value of output before productivity can be considered to have increased. Mere increase in production does not constitute increased productivity. So the message is "Take pride in your work and do not under-estimate its importance".

*Tabling Sixth
Malaysia Plan
(1991-1995)
Parliament
House.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 10, 1991*

*National
Seminar on
"productivity".
Kuala Lumpur,
April 5, 1982*

*8th Malaysian
Law
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 14,
1985*

A lawyer is a professional man. The implication of being a 'professional man' is that he is highly skilled, has a strong sense of social responsibility and an exceptional commitment to the interest of his client. Whereas Parliament has deemed it necessary to legislate on a wide range of matters to protect the consumer from the tradesman, professionals are still left to regulate themselves. It is said that it is better that they regulate themselves because lay persons cannot understand fully what professionals make. If ordinary members of society truly cannot fully understand the practices of professionals, then perhaps the professionals themselves should set the standards that will serve and measure up to the public interest.

The premise of self-regulation is that professionals can be relied upon to set standards of excellence, to monitor levels of competence, to establish fair prices for professional service, to spread and enforce the appropriate ethical and moral rules and to form an effective disciplinary body. They are expected to set up review programmes to make sure that the public is not exploited. In short, professionals regulate themselves with two objectives: to ensure all is well within the profession and that the profession does advance the public interest. It is up to you to ask yourselves what has happened to professional self-regulation - before others do so. It is up to you to ask whether the objectives have been met - before others do so.

I am afraid that in general, Malaysian professionals have not quite succeeded in maintaining the high standards expected of them. The professional bodies have had much greater success with ensuring a close-shop union, a monopoly. As such the members' interests are superior to the interest of the public and indeed the nation. A situation of short-supply is maintained so that demands will always exceed supply. Any monopoly in such a situation is able to dictate terms. So it is not surprising that professional bodies have been able to ensure the highest standards of living for their members. Almost without exception, Malaysia's professionals are the rich of Malaysian society, so much so that every newly arrived practitioner expects to shoot to the top of the income ladder and every Malaysian assumes that this should naturally be so. In many many countries this is not so at all.

*Speech at
conference on
"National
Economic
Development"
organised by
the Malaysian
Chamber of
Commerce and
Industry.
Kuala Lumpur,
May 18, 1984*

Business practices which transgress the law as well as being 'unethical' can only bring discredit and shame to the company. If these actions have wider international ramifications they will also bring discredit and dishonour to the nation. Indeed, it will affect business adversely in the long run. The pursuit of profit is acceptable, profiteering is not.

*National
Conference on
Securities
Industry in
Malaysia.
Kuala Lumpur*

The prosperity of a nation depends on the ability of the people to create wealth. The most prosperous nations are those whose people are constantly converting whatever is found in their environment into marketable commodities.

As to the advice on prudent management, of course prudent management is something one should do all the time, not necessarily during a bad period. But perhaps during the bad period one has more time to critically examine oneself to find out if one is managing well or not - whatever enterprise one is in.

*Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

Q U A L I T Y S E R V I C E

◀ 314

There is a need for Malaysians to appreciate quality in whatever they do. Government servants should deliver not just service but "quality service". This kind of service should not be confined to MAS cabin crew only but should be standard for all Government services. Quality control should be the concern of the Government as much as it should be the concern of the private sector.

*Speech at
dinner of the
Harvard
Business School
Alumni Club of
Malaysia.
Genting
Highlands,
August 7, 1982*

*8th Malaysian
Law
Conference.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 14,
1985*

To be engaged in public recrimination, to go into public combat armed to the teeth with intemperate language, is not to show sobriety or to be fair or to be mature or to be constructive. In Malaysian society one does not spit in the eye of a man and then expect him to change his mind or to yield to your “superior” wisdom.

Religion provides man with the right frame of mind, encourages him to do good and avoid evil. Religion is the anchor that prevents man from drifting aimless and being caught in the meshes of evil

Man does not live by bread alone. The spiritual hunger must be assuaged also. Otherwise even though the stomach is full, there will still be an emptiness, a void that renders life meaningless

Religion should never be regarded as simply the rituals which affects people only at the individual level. Religion which seeks truth to establish justice in all aspects of societal life should be regarded as beneficial to society. It is religion which acts as the anchor or underlying principles that govern not only the physical and material well-being but also the spiritual growth and upliftment of man. It is religion that steers people towards a more balanced life. It is also religion that provides true guidance and the strongest motivation towards achieving a more fruitful and meaningful life.

Excerpts from a speech on "The Role and Influence of Religions in Society".
Kuala Lumpur,
September 14,
1993

*Second General
Assembly of
Regional
Islamic
Dakwah
Council South
East Asia and
Pacific.
Subang,
June 4, 1983*

Of course, in every religion and ideology, we find extremists, but I would venture to say that the percentage of fanatics and extremists in Islam is much less than that found in other faiths. No one presents Jimmy Jones as a person typical of the Christians or Spanish Inquisition as a manifestation of Christian theocracy. These are all aberrations, the exceptions to the rule. And so the few extremists in Islam should not be pictured as evidence that Islam is to be feared, that its revival bodes ill for the world, particularly of the non-Muslim world.

The easiest way to arouse the people's hatred is to criticise the wealthy. The socialist and communist ideologies are founded, among others, on arousing hatred for the wealthy among the poor. But we now know that such ideologies have only succeeded in society becoming poorer, not richer. After 70 years, the practitioners of communism and socialism realise that the ideologies founded on hating the wealthy did not help anyone

In any society, there will always be the rich and the poor. We can have a society where all its members are poor. But we may not be able to create a society where everyone is rich. If everyone is rich, all goods and services will be expensive because they are provided or supplied by the rich. Since goods and services are expensive, everyone in the society will not be able to buy plenty of them. Seen through purchasing power, this means that they are all poor.

On the other hand, where a society has a combination of the rich and the poor, the poor can at least reap some jobs from the wealthy. On top of that, the rich are taxed and the revenue from this can be used by the Government to provide facilities which can also be enjoyed by the poor.

UMNO
General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 4,
1994

*Kuala Lumpur,
December 12,
1993*

I am saddened that these people are spreading rumours that I have fallen ill and need heart surgery.

Even if you want to make money in the stock market, do so by halal means. Don't say that I am going to die with the hope that stock prices will fall so that they can buy it cheaply and sell it later.

These people are avaricious they should become robbers.

*Hitting out at
rumour
mongering
Annual dinner
of Financial
Institutions.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 28,
1991*

..... those ubiquitous parasites which plague the Malaysian political and economic life.

*2nd E.M.F
Foundation
Roundtable on
Malaysia.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 3,
1986*

Malaysia is a country that is crazy about rumours. One day the country may be destroyed by these rumours. But in the meantime Malaysians generally enjoy spreading rumours. It is good for speculators in the stock market. They need movement in order to make money. And so you will hear things like 'the PM will resign on a certain date' or 'so and so is corrupt' or 'the Ringgit is about to be devalued', etc.

Never mind that these rumours have been proven wrong repeatedly. Everyone likes to believe and pass them on. Of course, some rumours are for fun. That they hurt the subject of this fun, is fun. If they hurt the country, it does not matter. A juicy piece of gossip enlivens the conversation.

As a medical doctor, I know only too well the danger of self - deception, whether by the patient or the doctor. The truth must be faced and proper treatment initiated. Reassurance is fine but it is no substitute for treatment, especially where specific treatment is needed.

*Seminar on
Malaysian -
British Invisible
Trade Links.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 17, 1984*

*Harvard Club
Dinner.
Kuala Lumpur,
July 28, 1993*

Let us admit it—we are all basically self-centred and selfish. ‘What is in it for me’ is the most frequent question we ask. Fortunately, what is good for society is often good for the individual. On the other hand, the selfish good of one person is seldom durable. But the good of the community is more permanent, even for the individual.

*“The Singapore
Lecture 1988”
organised by the
Institute of South
East Asian
Studies.
Singapore,
December 14,
1988*

The most important helping hands we can rely on will always be the ones that are at the end of our own arms.

*Speech at
dinner hosted by
the Malaysian
Institute of
Management.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 28,
1984*

We are gradually eradicating the dole mentality among Malaysians. Individual self-reliance would lead to less dependence on the Government for support and protection as this contributes to the dignity and self-esteem of an individual or institution.

*Formal issue of
the final report
of South
Commission.
Caracas,
August 3, 1990*

It is an iron law of history that no one can do anything to us worse than what we can do to ourselves. No one can do anything for us that is as valuable as what we can do for ourselves. This must be central message of self-reliance at the national level and at the international level.

S H O R T C O M I N G S

◀ 323

We are what we deserve to be. If we are not prepared to work hard for ourselves then we deserve to be left behind. So, before we blame others, spare some thoughts for our own shortcomings and correct them.

*Speech at the
Silver Jubilee
Celebrations of
Malaysian
Institute of
Engineers.
Kuala Lumpur,
April 13, 1984*

S K I L L S

◀ 324

Sometimes we feel that we are not capable of doing certain jobs. Actually, if we concentrate on doing a job and keep on trying to do it, God - willing, we will be able to do it. We will be able to acquire skills and efficiency. There is no skill that cannot be acquired.

*"The meaning
of Vision
2020".
Seremban,
May 26, 1991*

Knowledge and skills must, in the interest of sound development, be utilized within the context of a preferred moral and ethical framework which again must not be alien to the particular society.

*Inauguration of
United Nations'
Asian and
Pacific
Development
Centre.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 17,
1981*

*Kuala Lumpur,
March 16,
1986*

Enemies of spiritual values are not just the materialists. More pernicious enemies are the unbridled passions and the shallow knowledge of those who wish to uphold spirituality but are hazy about what really challenges and weakens spirituality

Spirituality is not challenged by materialistic values alone. Spirituality is also challenged by the paucity of knowledge and the overweening pride of its very adherents. So long as this truth is not faced, the task of defending spiritual values will remain an exceedingly difficult one

For a human society, large or small, to be complete and wholesome, a balance between material and spiritual values is essential. The question is to find the right ratio between the two value systems for the attainment of the happiness desired.

For us the challenge on managing success is just as important as managing problems during a recession.

*Opening the
Pacific Rim
Business
Collaboration
Symposium.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 6,
1993*

In order to be successful, it is important for us to have good values and attitudes. Our success should be achieved through a clean, orderly and acceptable manner, not through evil means such as stealing, robbing or cheating. We will not be progressive if we succumb to these methods. We need to be trustworthy and true to our word. If we have reached an agreement with a foreign company, we need to fulfill it and not cheat. If we cannot accomplish a task we should say so politely. If we do the right thing and keep to our word, God-willing, we will live happily. •

*"The Meaning
of Vision
2020".
Seremban,
May 26, 1991*

*Inaugural
statement as
President of the
Conference on
Drug Abuse
and Illicit
Trafficking.
Vienna,
June 17, 1987*

Time and effort move in a continuum. It is a truism that the major achievements of Man have been the result of hard work in a continuing process - of responses to changes and challenges in dynamic situations. It is equally true that major achievements have been made possible because we pause along the way to take stock of the situation, to make critical adjustments before we continue on a set course.

*Fellowship
night of the
Malaysian
Institute of
Directors.
Kuala Lumpur,
January 6,
1984*

As I have said many times, there is no problem that cannot be solved if the intention to reach compromise without sacrificing principles is present. After all, have we not, despite our diversities, lived together in relative harmony and peace all these years? Tolerance, goodwill and understanding have made Malaysia truly unique in the international community of nations. These characteristics need to be continuously nurtured.

Trustworthiness is a very important element in society. Without this quality disorder will prevail. If we cannot depend on or delegate work to others then it will be impossible for us to manage our work or finances or to manage government and public property. The management and administration of government cannot be the responsibility of just one person. Many will be involved in the management of the Government. If the civil service cannot be relied on then the government will collapse, and there will be anarchy which will threaten our very own lives.

*Launching the
'Leadership by
Example'
Campaign.
Kuala Lumpur,
March 19,
1983*

Businessmen should keep their promises because it is the right thing to do, not because it is good business. Any society that is not built on trust cannot last. I can find no better way than conscience to explain why trust is the best basis for any business relationship. Fortunately, the environment we live in Malaysia honours honesty, whether or not it is profitable. Right is right and wrong is wrong. There can be no two ways about this.

*Seminar on
"Risk analysis
management
for Banks".
Bangi,
January 7,
1991*

*Kuala Lumpur,
August 24,
1993*

There are some views that universities adapt too slowly to the changes in the world around them. There is fear that the local universities and other educational institutions still maintain the mould and thinking of the 1950s in handling current problems and challenges of the year 2020.

*Opening of the
5th Asian
Congress of
Pediatrics.
Kuala Lumpur,
August 5, 1985*

A hard-working honest and disciplined society will prosper despite the most hostile environment. We see today many countries with little or no resources, buffeted by typhoons and earthquakes, yet prosperous and powerful. The answer lies in the value systems that the people adhere to.

VOLUNTARY SERVICE

◀ 332

It is far better to participate in a “gotong-royong” in which club members and the beneficiaries take part than to merely make a gift of a ready-made facility. A “gotong-royong” project not only makes the result of the effort available to the recipients but helps to inculcate the spirit of service which is the *raison d’être* of the service clubs. No one can deny that a community which values and encourages voluntary service by its members will be a much better society.

*Speech at
Rotary Club
dinner.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 20,
1982*

WELL BEING

◀ 333

Well-being in this world is not achievable without persistent determination and struggle to progress from a less comfortable to a better position.

*Message in the
souvenir
programme to
mark Prophet
Mohammad’s
birthday.
Kuala Lumpur,
September 20,
1993*

*Referring to
UMNO
members who
won party
posts. Speech at
UMNO
General
Assembly.
Kuala Lumpur,
November 4,
1993*

For those who win, I want to remind them that this is their day. Tomorrow, they may fall. Hence, do not be arrogant for your victory. Victory has no meaning if you get only half the party. Do not make victory the reason for the party to be split. Do not for a minute think that we can take all and reject those who are not with us. The losers too, have supporters and they too have their rights.

In this contest, those who lose should be prepared to accept reality. Defeat does not lower our dignity, but a wild reaction will, especially when we are angry that we lost. The noble ones among the defeated are those who continue to serve the party.

Of the about 1,000 million Muslims in the world, 500 million are women. If we exclude the women, we will lose 50 per cent of our manpower and this makes our efforts to compete with others less effective. The possibility that we may fail is great if we exclude women from our mainstream activities. Women are as capable as men in most fields and their contributions would make the society stronger. We agree that they have certain roles to play, but in addition they also have the knowledge which could be used to improve the Muslim society.

*On the role of
Muslim
women.
Kuala Lumpur,
September 9,
1993*

*Kuala Lumpur,
October, 1982*

In the case of workers, they too need ethics because a worker who cannot be trusted will destroy the whole business and himself because he will be out of a job soon. So a worker must deliver the amount of work that he promises to deliver when he contracts to become a worker.

But if you have a situation where a worker will not deliver what he promises and does what he likes, then there can be no real planning. If you can't plan, it means of course that your delivery is not going to be good, your quality is not going to be good, your promises do not hold water.

The worker must arrive on time, work on time, be prepared to do good quality work, must not cheat in order to get the job finished quickly, must be meticulous. He must also feel that he is contributing to the well-being of the community and nation of which he is a part. And the contribution he makes will eventually come back to him - perhaps not directly but may be in the form of a better future for his children.

In my view, work should be enjoyed in the same way that we enjoy playing. When a player plays very often he ends up exhausted. But he will insist he enjoyed playing despite the energy he expended, money even and the resultant exhaustion. This is because he gets a thrill in facing challenges to his skills and stamina. Similarly everyone should get satisfaction if not thrill from the challenges to his skills and speed imposed by his work. There is a price in terms of time and energy but as in games these are accepted for the satisfaction or thrills derived. Work can therefore be enjoyable as games are enjoyed if our attitude towards work is correct. However, if work is regarded as a chore, to be got through for the purpose of earning an income, then boredom results. A bored worker is as bad as a bored player. He does not win. A bored worker does not produce. He merely marks time. He is a wage slave.

*National
seminar on
"Productivity".
Kuala Lumpur,
April 15, 1982*

*Opening the
International
Newspapers
Convention.
Kuala Lumpur,
December 10,
1990*

There is no doubt that the pen can influence the thinking of man. It can influence for good or for bad. In the hands of a skillful writer journalist, it can help to build or to destroy.

In an age when one man's writing can reach hundreds of millions of people worldwide, it is frightening to think what can happen if the intention of the writer is evil. Yet, if the intention is good, how much the world will benefit.



"If they are imbued with the right spirit and the higher values then not only will they be assets to the society, but they will help shape the success and glory of the society".

(Picture courtesy of Bernama)

Their hard work must be accompanied by positive attitudinal changes. This means that they should not moan and groan when confronting work pressure. Everyone has problems. But the test is whether one can solve these problems without loss in confidence.

To meet these challenges, youths must acquire skills and knowledge. To be achievers, youths must not only acquire the appropriate academic knowledge but must be able to manage their resources well, absorb knowledge in as many areas as possible and build up their confidence.

..... If they are not prepared to tackle the minor problems in acquiring knowledge and skills, it is impossible for them to be the movers of the country's progress.

The young would have to be instilled with the desire to play a responsible role in society, to preserve cherished traditions, to assist in the development of the nations and to be prepared to make sacrifices if called for in the interest of their societies. This burden is a heavy one and it calls for true dedication, loyalty and commitment.

*National Youth
Assembly.
Kota Bharu,
July 26, 1993*

*JAYCEES
Asia-Pacific
Regional
Conference.
Genting
Highlands,
May 25, 1984*

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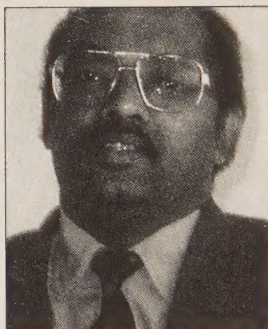
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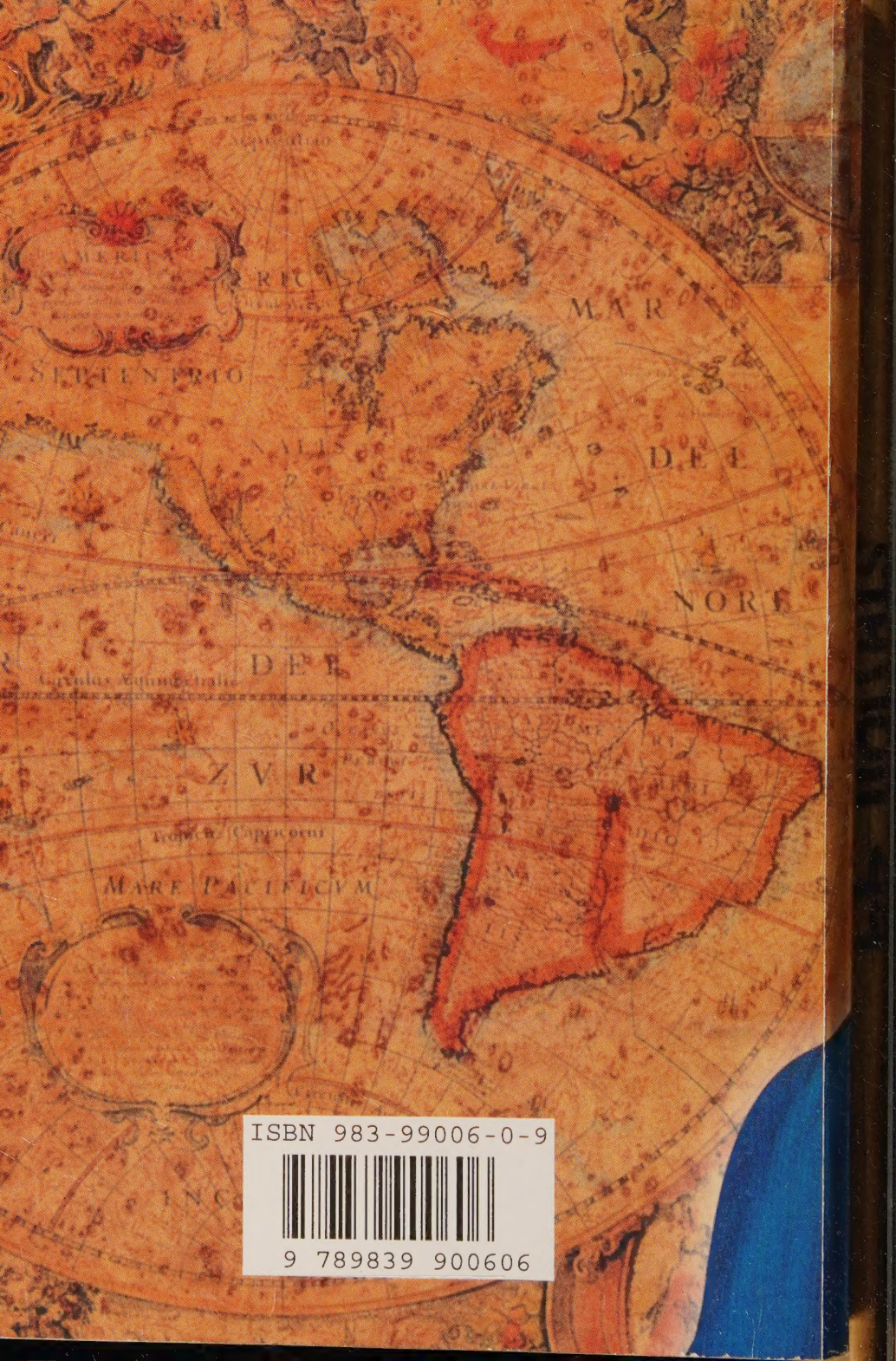


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